

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

MARITIME HISTORY & ARTS



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THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY AND ARTS

Honoring Philip Chadwick Foster Smith

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ON THE COVER

The Empress of China
Philip Chadwick Foster Smith
Watercolor

The lovely watercolor, *The Empress of China*,
also graced the cover of Philip Chadwick Foster
Smith's award winning book of the same name.

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BRITON C. BUSCH

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In this issue, we pay special tribute to one of the giants in the history of this journal — Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, who retires at his own request from the Editorial Advisory Board. He was a member of that board for fifteen years, beginning in 1983. Of greater merit is the fact that he served as Editor or Managing Editor from January 1969 to October 1982, possibly a record, or close to a record of long term service. It was he who published my first article in *The American Neptune* in 1978, and gave me — as he did for so many other authors, whether aspiring or seasoned — the benefit of his great knowledge of periodical publishing. And it was he who has given me inspired assistance through the years of my own term as Editor-in-Chief.



Philip Chadwick Foster Smith

Chad Smith is well known for his work on behalf of maritime museums. He was curator of the Independence Seaport Museum of

Philadelphia, 1979–1984, and curator of maritime history of what is now the Peabody Essex Museum before that. He was clerk of the Salem Marine Society for many years, and has equally important connections with the Boston Society and the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. His publication record is full and remarkable, and in my library I can boast of two of his fine works, which set the example for all to follow in their respective subjects. These are *The Frigate Essex Papers: Building the Salem Frigate, 1798–1799* (Salem: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1974) and *The Empress of China* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Maritime Museum, 1984). He has many other books besides numerous reviews to his credit — a corpus of scholarship of great and lasting value.

In his days of editing *The American Neptune*, he was helped wonderfully by Mrs. Geraldine Ayers. (She is still the main prop on the editorial side in Salem). Between the two of them, they ran the journal. With firm hands on the tiller, they always guided the vessel around the shoals and into safe waters. It was Chad who advised me to keep a tight grip on the helm, and to do those things an editor has to do: reject insufficiently researched work, poorly written material, and spy out the fictitious and the nonsensical. All of that was good advice. All of us who wear the mantle of the editorship, first worn by M. V. Brewington, Lionel Col-

cord, Howard Chapelle, and particularly Walter Muir Whitehill, are aware that *The American Neptune* has been long regarded as the most illustrious American journal of maritime history; indeed, it is one of the world's premier history journals period.

I accepted Chad Smith's resignation from the Editorial Advisory Board with deep regret. I extracted a promise from him, readily agreed upon, that he would help me when required: which is really what I had in the first place. But, as Chad knows, the ever-flowing stream of life moves on and with it new obligations and challenges. All of us associated with the journal are in his debt. We wish him and his wife Meredith many happy years ahead, ashore and afloat.

With the next issue, I will announce several changes to the Editorial Advisory Board, and I close this editorial by again thanking our many assistants and advisors, advertisers, and our printer for their assistance. We have been known to make errors on occasion, but those occasions are few and far between. We at the staff and editorial side are working tirelessly to maintain the accuracy and the depth of research and analysis — our hallmark.

BARRY M. GOUGH
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo, Ontario

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The Peabody Essex Museum gratefully acknowledges the contribution of a grant from Wilfrid Laurier University to assist the Editor-In-Chief in the management and production of this journal.

THE MARINE ENGRAVINGS OF PETER BRUEGEL THE ELDER

T. IAIN GUNN-GRAHAM

Peter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525–1569) is renowned for his genre paintings portraying peasant life in the sixteenth-century Netherlands. The genre element predominates in his work instead of being, as in the work of previous northern artists, a corroborative embellishment for an ecclesiastical theme. He also produced a prodigious number of drawings which were intended as models for several series of engravings. His landscapes are “pure” landscapes, the main emphasis being on the sweep of natural forms. People and settlements are purely incidental. His seascapes, on the other hand, are ship studies, and as such are extremely valuable to the nautical historian. A set of nine engravings published by Frans Huys (ca. 1565) from drawings mainly produced by Bruegel at a much earlier date, provide the subject for this article.

Companion branches of historical research are often useful to the art historian, providing clues as to the time and origin of questionable works of art. However, the observations of a careful and meticulous draftsman provide

useful insights into the development of marine technology at a time when ship illustrations were so few and inaccurate as to be of little help in tracing the evolution of the shipwright's art. The first six prints appearing in this article appeared in *Les Estampes de Peter Bruegel l'Ancien*, published in 1907 by Rene van Bastelaer, Curator of Prints in the Royal Library of Belgium.¹ In order to provide a proper perspective to the Bruegel prints, it is desirable to provide a brief survey of western ship development before his period with a few words on the sources upon which our tenuous knowledge and hypotheses are based.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, there were two mainstreams in the development of ship design, one in Northern Europe and one in the Mediterranean. By the tenth century, the Viking *drakkar* (long ship) and *knorr* (cargo vessel) were supreme in the north. These ships were clinker-built with overlapping planks, twin steering oars, a single mast, and square sail. In the Oseberg and Gokstad ships, we have preserved examples of this general type.² Our somewhat sketchy knowledge of their rig comes from manuscript illumination,³ the Gotland pictorial stones⁴ and the Bayeux Tapestry.

The Middle Ages saw a coarsening of the basic Norse hull form as it was copied by less skilled shipwrights. The specialized differentiation between vessels designed for war or commerce was abandoned; the same ship now served both purposes. This vessel was round-bodied and double-ended, with a length/breadth ratio of about 2:1. It was used extensively by the Hansa

T. Iain Gunn-Graham is a Scotsman currently living in Newfoundland. He has degrees from Queen's University and the University of Aberdeen. He has taught Art History at the universities of Alberta, Aberdeen and Stirling as well as other post-secondary institutions. He specializes in Naval and Military subjects and is a consultant to Sotheby's, London, on marine painting. He has traveled the world extensively on government service and has acted as a consultant on international trade. He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and a Member of the Society for Nautical Research.



(B. 98) *Die Scip 1564*. Stern view of a Flemish carrack with a round-tucked stern and narrow taffrail. This vessel is well armed and marks a late example of the transition from general purpose vessels to specialized warships. The vessel off the bow is a herring buss, a long developed North Sea fishing boat design which differs from its medieval antecedents by virtue of its high raked poop.

merchants, and in time of war it could be equipped with fore and after castles to provide stable, elevated fighting platforms for soldiers. Most of our knowledge of these craft comes from the civic seals of the Hansa towns, the cinque ports, and the French channel ports. Unfortunately seal representations tend to be ra-

ther distorted. Rigging tends to be rendered in a rather sketchy manner, often open to widely differing interpretations of form.

Ships were still single masted, square rigged vessels, the mainyard appearing to be "fished" together in two sections and held in place by a simple parrel truck. Single sheets and braces ran to the clew of the sail and tip of the yard respectively. The stern rudder, thought to have originated either in Danzig or the Friesland area, is first portrayed on a font in Winchester Cathedral dating from 1180.⁵ There is some controversy over whether this is a portrayal of a true stern rudder system. This new ship, known as a *nef*, had a straight stem, and the rigging details were the same as the oar-steered cog which it replaced.

In the Mediterranean, the edge-planked, carvel-built hull remained in vogue, and the tradition of galley building continued strong. An important innovation, transmitted from the Indian Ocean via the Islamic Empire, was the triangular-sailed lateen rig. It was most use-

ful in areas with seasonal prevailing winds. This sail had to be brailed up, the yard swivelled around the mast, and the lee and weather shrouds slacked off and tautened with every change in course relative to the wind direction. In Northern Europe with its variable winds, the square-sail, with its ease of handling, remained su-

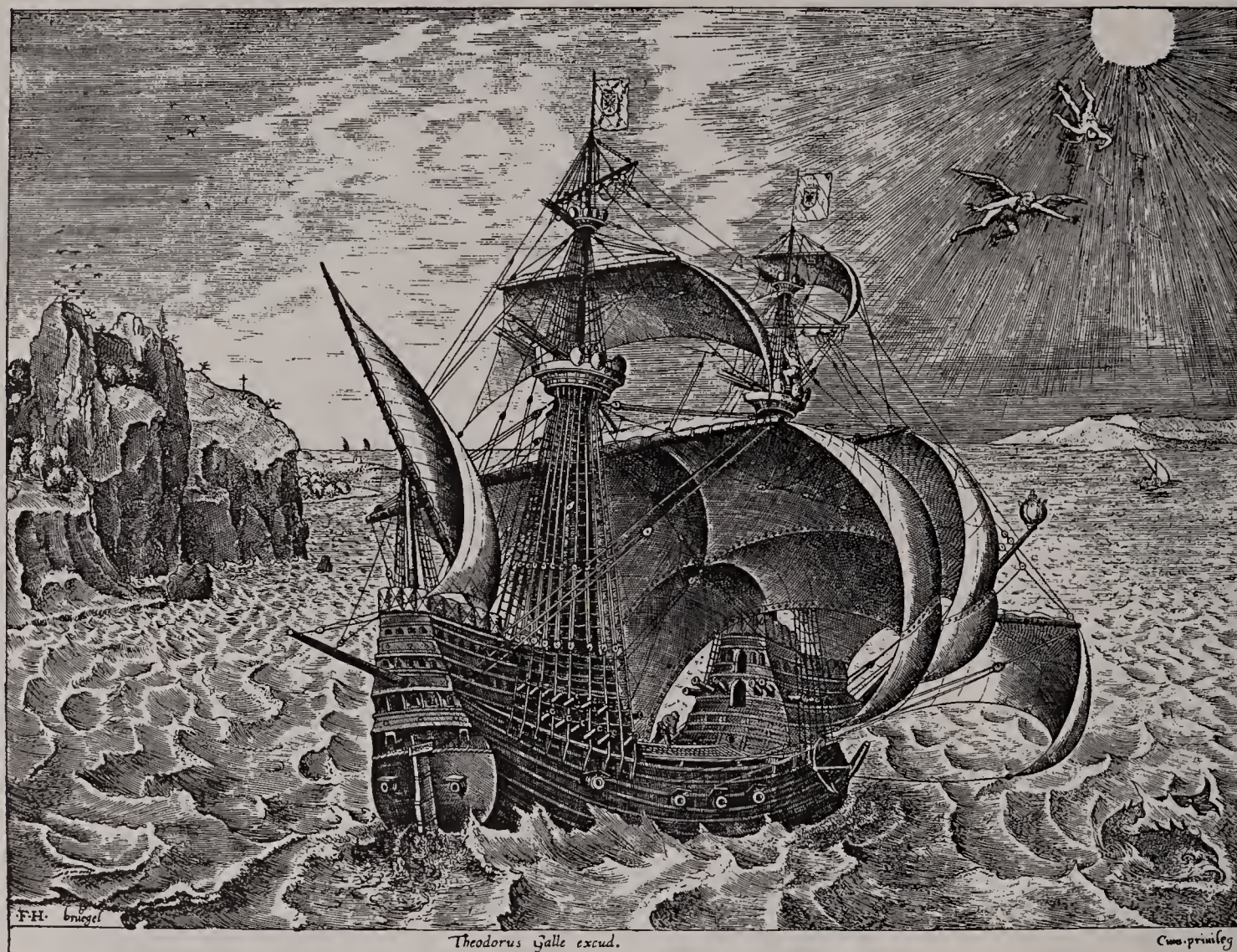
preme, although it was less weatherly.

The Crusades and the international commercial enterprises of Italian and German bankers resulted in the cross-fertilization of technology between northern and southern Europe. The use of the more easily repairable carvel-built hull spread north, and the temporary fighting castles were replaced by permanent structures which became the poop and forecastle. A fifteenth century votive ship model from the church at Mataro, Portugal, shows these changes in the hull structure, but it still retained the single mast and square rig of the cog. It had been re-rigged at some stage, and may or may not have had two masts originally.⁶ The north had given the stern rudder to the Mediterranean. The square rig may either have been reintroduced or remained relict since Roman times. A Spanish/Moorish bowl (the Malaga Bowl) of the early fifteenth century shows a Portuguese ship of a type similar to the Mataro model,⁷ the first known representation of a three-masted ship. In his *Life of St. Ursula*, 1495, the Venetian artist Carpaccio shows that the idea of carrying more than one sail per mast had taken root. Several of his vessels sport topsails.⁸ The smaller Mediterranean ships became known as caravels and the larger ones as *naos*.



(B. 100) *Man-of-War near a Galley*. A galleon with a square-tucked stern and heavy mixed armament. The lower gun ports appear to be dangerously close to sea level. Off the port bow is a single-masted galley whose pennant displays the saltire of Burgundy. (Flanders, part of the formerly independent Duchy of Burgundy was now the Spanish Netherlands, since the last Burgundian heiress had married the Spanish Hapsburg Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I.)

In the north, the Hansa *hoelk* predominated. The first successful oceangoing vessel of the new era was the carrack (Flemish: *Kraeck*), a blend of northern and southern traditions. Fortunately, a splendid engraving of one of these



(B. 101) *Man-of-War and the Fall of Icarus*. A carrack under full sail. The lower sails have distinctive bonnets, and the banners on the fore and main masts display the coat-of-arms of the Holy Roman Emperor. Daedalus and his son Icarus can be seen in the upper right background.

vessels by the Flemish master WA, dated ca. 1470,⁹ has survived to give us the earliest known accurate rendition of the *kraek*. This ship has two fo'c'sle decks with supports for an awning above them. A long deck can be seen above the quarterdeck, and there is a second awning aft. The waist is partially decked over, and the hull itself has heavy reinforcing strakes running fore and aft. A cargo loading port seems to have been cut in the hull side below the main channels. The stern retains the traditional northern round tuck, and between the two officer's privies there runs an open gallery. The main shrouds are attached to the channels with deadeyes and lanyards, in northern fashion, but they still lack ratlines. Both the foresail and lateen mizzen are now major propelling sails.

The mainyard has double topping lifts and the mizzen has been given a lift to the maintop. Martnets descend from the top to the mainyard, and there is a bow line running from the mainsail to a block on the bowsprit. A multi-pronged grapnel on the bowsprit, and the foretop appears to have protective netting rigged. In the mizzen-top is a swivel gun, and one can see the muzzles of five more guns below the poop. This is a highly sophisticated vessel, ready to fight or trade, and the quality of the draftsmanship is not equaled until Bruegel.

Another ship engraving by the same master shows a furled spritsail which would thus improve the handling qualities of a high-pooped vessel.¹⁰ A panorama of Venice (ca. 1500) by Jacopo da Barbari shows a large four-masted

carrack, which appears to have a permanent gun armament on the quarterdeck.¹¹ The fourth mast, the bonaventure mizzen, is also lateen-rigged. This feature lasted until late in the sixteenth century. The overall length of this vessel is approximately 98.5 feet.

The cargo port in the WA master's *kraeck* was reduced in size and multiplied to become gunports some time before the year 1500, which had the effect of lowering the center of gravity when the weighty guns were mounted lower in the ship's structure. This idea is sometimes attributed to a shipwright named Descharges who lived in the French port of Brest.¹² Such an innovation could not have occurred but for the adoption of the carvel-built hull in northwest Europe. This permitted the cutting of holes near the waterline, which could be effectively closed off while under way. The necessity for having the guns mounted as near the center line as possible, so that their weight would not seriously affect the period of the roll of the ship, resulted in the appearance (ca. 1500) of an extremely pronounced tumblehome, which had a negative effect on the ship's stability. This was the state of the art at the time when Bruegel made his drawings, produced during a period when, for the first time since the Viking era, it was realized that there would have to be a functional differentiation between merchantmen and warships.

Bruegel's prints demonstrate that, like most other sixteenth century artists of the Germano-Netherlandish School, he was essentially a draftsman and illustrator.¹³

Die Scip 1564 [Bastelaer No. 98]

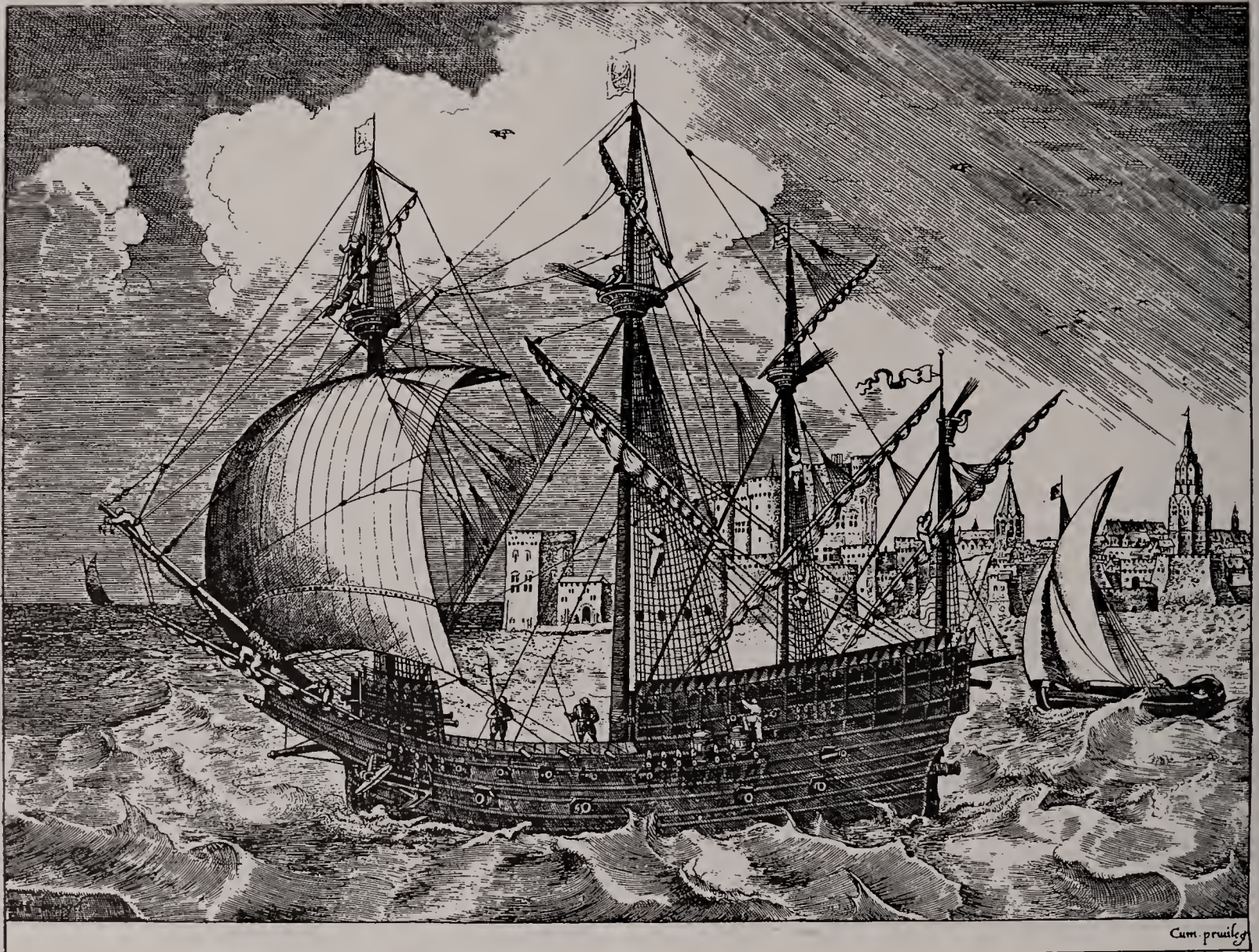
Bastelaer categorizes it as a *nef*, but this is just symptomatic of the general confusion existing with regard to nautical terminology at the time. The high narrow hull with its tapered tumblehome and pronounced rounded tuck at the stern hints at a Dutch or Germanic origin, and is further corroborated by the deadeyes and lanyards which attach the shrouds to the channels. The channels themselves are mounted high on the sides, as befits a ship which has to operate in tempestuous northern seas. Landstrom

suggests that it is a progenitor of the seventeenth century Dutch *fluyt*,¹⁴ but while there are general similarities, it is more probably a vessel of the carrack type, as the guns are at the main deck level and a cargo port is open in the hull — rather dangerous in view of the squally weather. It is possible that the two lower coats of arms on the taffrail could be those of the towns of Amsterdam and Purmerend. In the background is a small caravel, probably a fishing boat.

The whole picture has a dynamic quality, evoking memories of blustery October days in the Channel. This is a direct product of Bruegel's superb and controlled use of linear forms.

Man-of-War Near a Galley [B. 100]

This print shows a warship, a galleon of the type which was popular in France, Spain, and Italy and embodies the floating fortress concept which required a high-sided vessel with large numbers of small caliber guns. This type was abandoned by the English (ca. 1510) in favor of the race-built galleon, a lower vessel with fewer but larger caliber guns. This vessel might have been built in Flanders by Spanish shipwrights. It lacks the elaborate painted ornamentation of a ship built in Spanish yards and is a very early example of the galleon type. The shrouds are fastened to the lower wales of the hull, a southern characteristic, but have the northern system of lanyards and deadeyes which are chained to the wale. It could therefore be a southern vessel which was rerigged in a northern port after storm damage. The lower gun ports are dangerously close to the waterline, and there is only a slight tumblehome. This vessel might be a compromise, a transitional type between the carrack and the galleon. This hypothesis is borne out by the extreme density of the external framing, as if a merchant hull had to be strengthened to take the shock of gun recoil. Also, the waist gun is on a wheeled field artillery mount — shipboard gun carriages at this time were static and lacked wheels or trucks. There are conflicting elements in this vessel which show the influence of both north and south, plus some dangerous alterations. It may have been observed during Bruegel's trip to Italy (ca. 1552–1553), as this type of



(B. 102) *Man-of-war Sailing Before a Town*. A late model four masted (fore, main, mizzen, and bonaventure mizzen) *fregata* galleon of the type used to protect merchant convoys to the East Indies. The city of Antwerp forms the background, and a small fishing boat follows the galleon as it hoists sail preparatory to moving down the River Scheldt.

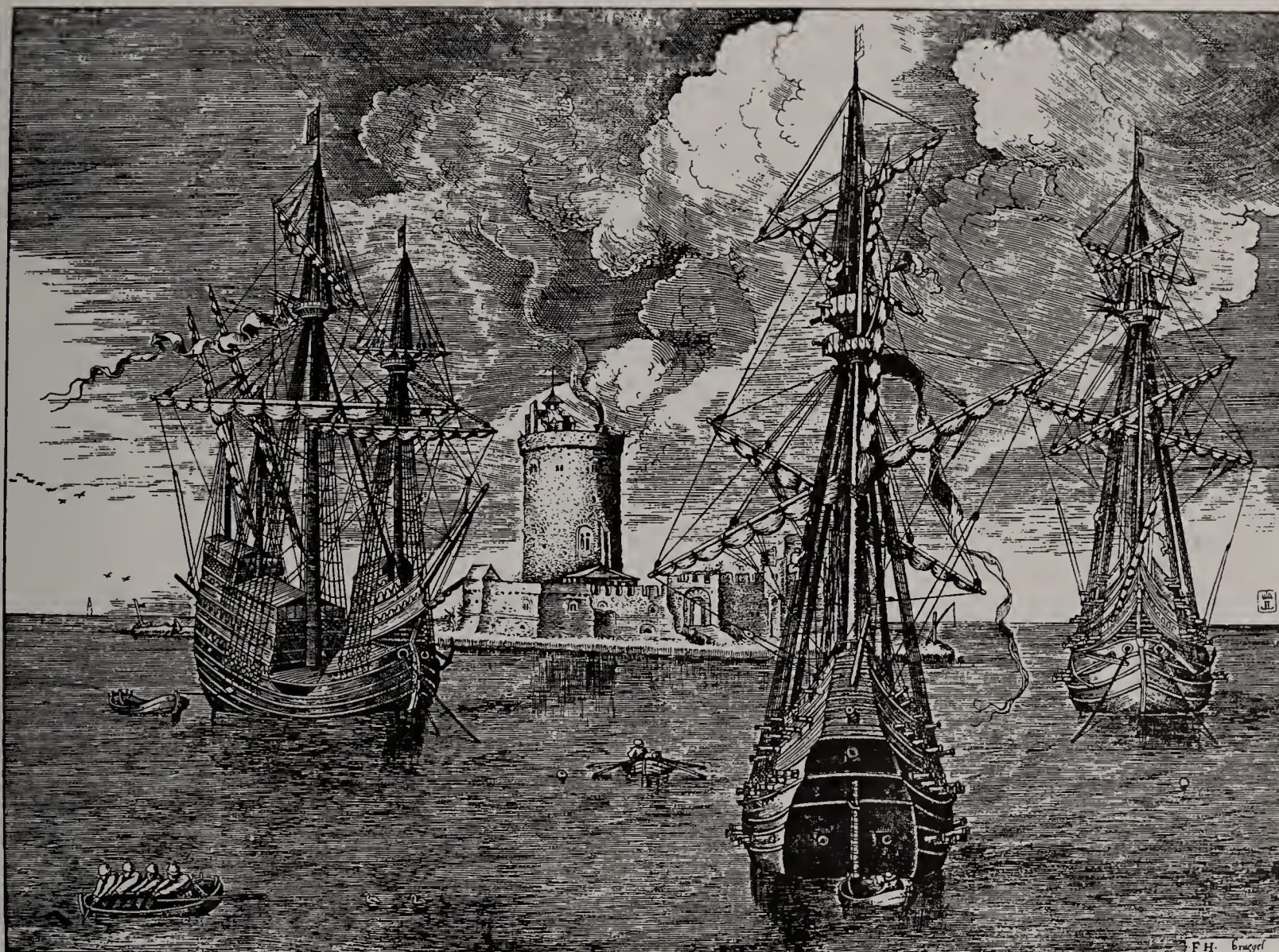
botched up man-of-war is the sort of thing that appealed to the poorer western Italians in their attempts to keep up with the Joneses of Venice and Genoa.

Similar vessels can be seen in Bruegel's paintings, *The Battle of the Bay of Naples* (ca. 1552–1554; Rome: Doria Gallery) and *The Fall of Icarus* (ca. 1555; Brussels: Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts). A further clue to the Mediterranean setting is the presence of a light dispatch galley. These craft were not unknown in northern waters, especially in areas of French and Spanish influence, but the normal weather conditions in the Channel and the North Sea rendered their employment somewhat unpropitious and unsatisfactory. One of the most pleasant aspects of this print is the contrast between

the full-bellied sails and the bubbling wake of the ship, which graphically illustrates the silent power of the wind.

Man-of-War and the Fall of Icarus [B. 101]

This vessel, like the one in the previous print, is distinctive in having bonneted courses (the additional strip, attached to the mainsail and foresail). It differs in that it has both topsails and royals, and can be described as a developed galleon dating from post-1540. The standards on the fore and mainmasts could be those of the town of Arnhem. It is one of the floating fortress types, and the waist has boarding netting rigged over the gangways, as if action were imminent.



Cum. privileg

(B. 104) *Three Men-of-War Before a Water Fortress*. A merchantman and two warships anchored before a water fortress of a type found in the estuaries of Rivers in Flanders, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. The central keep combined the functions of lighthouse and watchtower, and the lower works housed gun batteries which commanded the approach channels.

At the tip of the bowsprit is a peculiar object which looks like a pumpkin! Henry VIII's *Henry Grace à Dieu*, of the same period, had a gilded crown in this position, so this is probably an early example of a figurehead, perhaps in the form of a pomegranate, a popular symbol of temporal authority in the Holy Roman Empire and Aragon at this time. Alternatively, it may be a buoy for attaching an anchor tripline. A similar ship appears in Bruegel's painting, *The Fall of Icarus*. This vessel, with its tops bristling with boarding pikes, seems to be on a much more obvious war footing than the ship in the previous engraving. The Icarus and Dædalus figures are almost incidental to the main subject, the ship, and seemingly have been

added only to impart a little classical education to the purchaser.

Man-of-War Sailing Before a Town [B. 102]

The ship in this picture has four masts and appears to be of the Spanish *fregata* type of galleon, which was utilized extensively for policing Spain's maritime possessions and major sea routes. This one was probably built in the Antwerp yards. It displays all those northern characteristics, and it represents the hardiest and most seaworthy type of vessel used by the Spaniards until the early eighteenth century. It is more compact than the great floating fortresses,



(B. 105) *Three Men-of-War in a Tempest*. Despite the title, the fact that the ships to the left and right of the print are carrying all plain sail would suggest that the wind, although blustery, is of somewhat less than tempest strength. In the right foreground one sees a pod of dolphins conveying the Greek musician Arion to safety.

and its lack of extremely high poop structures makes it relatively weatherly (*i.e.*, it will sail closer to the wind). It is probably about to escort a convoy from the Netherlands to the Indies, since these vessels were used almost exclusively for protecting convoys of merchantmen on colonial trade routes. The vessel approaching from astern is a Dutch *boeir* type, broad beamed with shallow draft, equally at home on the rivers, canals, and shoal waters off the mouth of the Scheldt and the Texel. The whole scene is almost a prototype for some of the later seventeenth century van de Velde marine studies. There is a characteristic bustle and sense of movement which Bruegel imparts supremely well.

Three Men-of-War Before a Water Fortress [B. 104]

This is a delightfully placid scene showing three anchored men-of-war. The vessels on the right and center are galleons, bristling with guns, whereas the vessel on the left is an earlier type having much of the carrack in her lines. In many ways, this latter vessel bears some resemblance to a transitional vessel, the Portuguese *Santa Catarina do Monte Sinai* (ca. 1520), although the beakhead of the former vessel is mounted at a more extreme angle than that of the latter. Once again, this print demonstrates Bruegel's exceptional ability to capture the mood of a scene, the calmness contrasting strongly with the more unsettled conditions in previous prints of



(B. 106) *Man-of-War, Two Galleys and Phaeton*. This print is the only one in the series which gives equal prominence to the maritime theme and the mythological sub-theme. The upper half shows Jupiter destroying Phaeton, son of Apollo, after his intemperate attempt to drive the Chariot of the Sun had almost destroyed the Earth. The lower half is dominated by the lateen sails of the galleys.

the series.

***Three Men-of-War
in a Tempest [B. 105]***

At first sight, the vessels in this engraving appear to belong to the transitional type as seen in *Die Scip 1564*. However, they are obviously of a more developed design, having regular rows of gunports and four masts. The ship on the right carries a spritsail, which is lacking in the other vessels. An unusual feature in the two foreground vessels is the position and style of the beakhead. This is a tripartite affair, pointed as if designed for ramming. There is a marked similarity between these vessels and the Portu-

guese *caravella*, shown on a tapestry (ca. 1535) portraying the capture of Tunis by the Emperor Charles V.¹⁵ The *caravella* had square sails on the foremast, was lateen-rigged on the other three, and was a cousin to the galleyasse, retaining the ram but lacking the oars. The vessels in the picture are rigged in the northern fashion and could be Portuguese prizes rerigged, or possibly built in the north to Portuguese plans. The mast-head banners could be those of the Dutch towns of Katwijk and Blikkenburg.

This print conveys tremendous atmosphere, with the black sultry gusts of wind forcing the ships to curtsy to the heavy swell. In the foreground, the legendary Greek musician Arion of Lesbos, son of Poseidon and the nymph Oneaca,



(Pl. 17) *Man-of-War with Three Small Boats*. A singular study of a vessel at anchor with sails furled, which provides a clear illustration of both the standing and running rigging in vogue at this period.

plays his lyre to the music-loving dolphins who rescued him after he was cast overboard by a ship's crew which coveted his wealth.

*Man-of-War, Two Galleys
and Phaeton [B. 106]*

Like the previous engraving and *The Fall of Icarus*, this work utilizes an episode of classical mythology as a background for an expressive seascape. The ships in this work are carracks and a dispatch galley. Unlike the other engravings in the series, the mythological element exercises a fairly dominant influence over the print. The dramatic exodus of Phaeton from Apollo's chariot (helped by omnipresent Zeus) casts a baleful atmosphere over the whole work.

The following two engravings had not been

identified as the work of Bruegel when Bastelaer published his catalogue in 1908. They were first catalogued in 1931 when Campbell Dodgson published "Deux Estampes d'après P. Bruegel l'Ancien" in *Melange Hulin de Loo*.¹⁶

*Man-of-War with Three
Small Boats [Klein Pl. 17]¹⁷*

In this work, the sea has not been treated with the same subtlety and finesse as in the previous engravings, so Klein suggests that the engraver did not follow the Bruegel drawing very closely. However, detailed examination reveals other peculiar and anomalous characteristics. The central vessel has some of the characteristics of the hull form of a carrack, although the curvature fore and aft is somewhat extreme.



(Pl. 18) *Man-of-War with Small Ships at the Right and Left*. The main subject of this work is seen under reduced sail on a blustery day. The relatively small size of the vessel may be deduced from the scale of the two crewmen amidships.

If one looks at the poop, it can be seen that the hull sides converge, making it a double-ended vessel of no known type. Judging by the banners of this ship, the galleon in the right background, and the heeling cutter in the left background, the wind appears to be blowing directly over the bows of the central vessel with veering gusts to the right. However, if one looks at the anchored boat with its sail raised in the left foreground, the sail is full of wind, a condition that could only be achieved by a wind blowing from exactly the opposite direction. Here one thinks that the engraver must have recognized the anomaly and cut in an anchor cable in a belated attempt to render the scene more credible.

This boat itself is peculiar. The hull form

follows a style which did not appear until the late seventeenth century, when it was found on small fishing boats. The rig is also strange with its combination of a lateen yard and cross yard on one mast. The small cutter behind it is a similar vessel. It is suggested that a damaged drawing of Bruegel was found, circa 1690–1720, which an engraver used as a basis for a print, using his own imagination and knowledge of the then contemporary maritime scene to augment the surviving remnants. The only portions of this engraving which appear to be by the same hand as the previous plates are the forepart, masts, and rigging of the central ship and the galleon in the right background.

***Man-of-War with Small Ships
at the Right and Left [Klein Pl. 18]***

This print also shows a rather harsh and unsubtle portrayal of wave forms. The square rigged vessel in the background is of the *cara-vella* type with its prominent beak. A similar vessel is in the center, and in this case the rigging is of southern European type, lacking deadeyes or lanyards. There are peculiar configurations of the perspective. For instance, the angle at which the foremost two guns project forward from the hull. The Mediterranean type galleys in the background are somewhat sketchy. If one can explain the sea as being the work of a clumsy engraver, then it is possible to accept this work as being by the same hand as the earlier series.

Naval historians are handicapped because builders' drafts of ships do not appear until the end of the sixteenth century. In tracing the evolution of ship types, one has to rely exclusively on contemporary drawings and engravings. Paintings and the short series of engravings by Peter Bruegel the Elder are exceptionally valuable, in that they provide concrete evidence of the degree to which Mediterranean and Northwest European ideas were adapted

and integrated. All the prints of the first group show a vital and lively appreciation of the seascape and the moods of the weather. The last engraving is the only one which shows a ship both built and rigged in the southern European manner. For these reasons, I cannot accept the penultimate work as being by the same hand as the others.

Similarly, the two final prints lack an essential atmospheric quality present in the earlier series. Bruegel's use of line to express the varying moods of wind and weather is carried out in a masterly fashion. His ideas are faithfully carried out by Frans Huys (at least in numbers 98 and 100–106). In fact, when it comes to expressing the mood of the sea, these engravings surpass his paintings with a maritime content. The great problem for the nautical historian of this period is to decide to what degree was there a diffusion of marine architectural ideas between northern and southern Europe and what technological innovations were adopted as a result of such diffusion. The first group of prints make a useful and succinct contribution to the illumination of a particularly dim and murky era of the history of the design and building of ocean-going ships.



NOTES

1. Rene van Bastelaer, *Les Estampes de Peter Bruegel L'Ancien* (Brussels: 1907).
2. The recovered remains of these two vessels are preserved in the Viking Ship Museum of the Norwegian Museum of Antiquities, Bygdøy, Oslo.
3. Twelfth century English manuscript, the Oxford Bestiary "Jonah and the Whale," Bodleian Library, Oxford.
4. Eighth century carved *stelae* from Gotland showing reliefs of full-rigged Viking ships are preserved in the Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm.
5. Winchester Font (marble) brought to England by Henry of Blois ca. 1180. Carved at Tournai. G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture* (1955), 17–18.
6. An *ex voto* model found in the Monastery Church of San Simon de Mataro (Catalonia): Prins Hendrik Museum, Rotterdam. Bjorn Landstrom, *The Ship* (New York: Doubleday, 1961), plate 249.
7. Malaga Bowl: a ceramic bowl found near Malaga and probably of Mozarabic origin: Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Landstrom, plate 255.
8. Vittore Carpaccio, *The Legend of St. Ursula*, Accademia, Venice.
9. There is a drawing based on this engraving by the WA Master in Duncan Haws, *Ships and the Sea* (), 66–67.
10. Lothar Eich and Johannes Wend, *Schiffe auf druck graphischen Blättern* (Rostock: VEB Hinstorff Verlag, 1980), il. 9.
11. Jacopo Barbari, *View of Venice*, Correr Museum, Venice.
12. Douglas C. Browne, *Floating Bulwark* (), 7–8.
13. H. Arthur Klein, *Graphic Worlds of Peter Bruegel the Elder* (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 50–91.
14. Landstrom, *The Ship*, 118.
15. The Tunis Tapestry, Prado, Madrid. One of a series

of 10 tapestries by W. Pannekkran commissioned in 1554 to celebrate Charles V's capture of Tunis in 1535. William C. Thomson, *History of Tapestry* (), 471.

16. Campbell Dodgson, "Deux Estampes d'après Pieter

Bruegel l'Ancien," *Melanges Hulin de Loo*, (Brussels, Hulin de Loo, 1931), 81–82.

17. Klein, *Graphic Worlds of Peter Bruegel the Elder*, 13–19.

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Art Credit: Francis Holman, *Naval Engagement of July 7, 1777* (Hancock engaging *Flora*), painted in 1779. Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass. Photo by Mark Sexton.

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NOTICE CHANGE OF DATES

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The committee announces, with apologies, a necessary change in conference dates and deadlines for submission of abstracts. The venue remains the Peabody Essex Museum. As advertised previously, the themes of the four plenary sessions will be:

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The Slave Trade
Whaling
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The Shore Establishments
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Abstracts of individual papers should be typed on no more than one page, accompanied by a Curriculum Vitae. Session proposals should provide a brief summary of each paper and include Curricula Vitae for each of three or four presenters. Abstracts and proposals now are due by 30 June 1999, addressed to:

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PRIZE RULES:

CIVIL WAR PRIZE PROCEDURE IN THE PHILADELPHIA PRIZE COURT, 1861–1865

Joseph-James Ahern

When John McKenzie, master and part owner of the cargo ship *Amelia*, set sail from the Port of Liverpool, England, early on the morning of 23 April 1861, he was bound for Charleston, South Carolina, and expected a routine two month voyage across the Atlantic. The hold of the *Amelia* contained a varied assortment of merchandise ranging from millstones and machinery parts to pots and jars, and included a case of books bound for the University of North Carolina. According to McKenzie, the vessel, upon leaving port, had “the proper and usual shipping papers and being a duly registered ship of the United States belonging wholly to citizens thereof: she bore the flag of the United States.” When the *Amelia* reached the Rattlesnake Shoals off Charleston on 18 June, she was greeted by the United States Navy steamer *Union*. The *Amelia* was seized as a prize of war and sent north to Philadelphia for adjudication before a prize court.¹

In Philadelphia, the *Amelia* was placed in

the custody of the district court, and her papers were handed over to the prize commissioner. This began proceedings in what was Prize Case Five in the Prize Case Docket for the Federal District Court for Southeastern Pennsylvania. The prize cases were the end results of captures made along the Southern blockade, designed to prevent the Confederacy from obtaining the supplies it needed to become a sovereign nation. The Philadelphia prize court was one of eight established during the Civil War, the others being Boston; Providence, Rhode Island; New York; Baltimore; Washington, D.C.; Key West, Florida; and New Orleans.

Given the vast and growing literature on the American Civil War, it is surprising that there has been little focus on the prize cases. The records created by the prize courts, now housed in the regional branches of the National Archives, provide new insight into the Union blockade, from both a naval and legal point of view. The cases show how the blockade was operated, how the federal judicial system functioned, and how some Southerners saw the blockade.² Only two scholarly works have focused on this topic: Madeline Russell Robin-ton’s *An Introduction to the Papers of the New York Prize Court* (1945), which examines the records and organization of the New York Court, and Stuart Bernath’s *Squall Across the Atlantic* (1970), which looks into the diplomatic issues of the prize cases. Other works on the Civil War have paid minimal or no attention to the prize cases.

While the purpose of the prize courts was to determine the question of a captured ship’s

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I would like to thank Jeffery Dorwart, Beryl Rosenstock, Michael Kunz, the National Archives—Mid-Atlantic Region, the Clerk’s Office of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, and the Naval Historical Center for their assistance.



Blockade Runner Ashore, by D. F. Kennedy (1864). After a Confederate blockade runner was captured, the next course of action was to send the ship and her papers to a prize court for adjudication to determine the legality of the capture. Federal Courts had no experience in dealing with this type of case and had to look to historical precedents for procedure.

guilt, the decisions that the courts passed down also had legal and diplomatic significance regarding the Union blockade. From the outset, the legality of the blockade was questioned both at home and abroad. President Lincoln's own cabinet split over its legality, with one faction supporting the blockade and the other the idea of closing the ports.³ Lincoln eventually decided to blockade the Confederacy, since the rules of blockade had been well established in international law.

The administration was hoping to deny the Confederacy belligerent rights by declaring that a state of insurrection existed, not war. By declaring a blockade, the North made itself a belligerent. If the North was a belligerent, then it inadvertently granted the South belligerent rights. It thus fell to the courts to decide whether a state of war existed, or if the conflict was

in fact an insurrection. If they ruled that war existed, it would indicate that the United States had recognized the Confederacy by using the blockade. This would mean that foreign nations would be justified in recognizing the Confederacy. If the courts ruled that insurrection existed, then the blockade as well as the taking of prizes and the disruption of foreign trade with the South would have been illegal.⁴

Here one finds the federal district courts dealing not simply with legal issues, but issues that also hold diplomatic repercussions. At the beginning of the Civil War, the federal district courts were unprepared to handle the prize cases. The only experience American lawyers had with prize law had been in academic settings. For the most part, prize law is the law of a nation at war, and, with the exception of a few cases during the Mexican War, United States

courts had not dealt with prize law since the War of 1812.⁵ This raises questions of how the courts functioned: what were the legal precedents for United States prize law? Why were prize cases tried by federal courts and not by state or military courts? How did prize procedure differ from civil procedure? What were the responsibilities of the court officials during prize cases? Did the courts receive any of the prize money after a case was tried? By examining the records of the prize courts, it is possible to answer these questions and determine that the way the federal prize courts functioned was based on America's experience with prize proceedings that dated back to the Revolutionary War.

To illustrate the historical value of the prize papers, a sampling of cases from the Civil War Prize Court in Philadelphia will be used to examine how the courts functioned. Given the number of case files that have survived, it was important to select a manageable number of cases. Since the courts were not isolated from legislative or judicial events, I chose nine cases that were tried around four events that could change the way the prize courts functioned: Lincoln's proclamation of the blockade on 19 and 27 April 1861; Congress's retroactive authorization of the actions of the President in regard to the closing of Southern ports and the seizure of vessels on 13 July 1861; Congress's retroactive approval of all actions of the President from 4 March 1861 on 4 September 1861, and the Supreme Court's ruling in the case *Prize Cases*, which was a group appeal from the lower courts concerning the legality of the blockade, on 10 March 1863. The cases examined in this study were the *Amelia* (Case 5) captured on 18 June 1861, the *Abbie Bradford* (Case 10) captured 25 July 1861, the *Prince Alfred*, (Case 12) captured 6 September 1861, the *Elmira Cornelius* (Case 89) captured 11 October 1862, the *Wonder* (Case 112) captured 13 May 1863, the *Secesh* (Case 114) captured 15 May 1863, the *Cyclops* (Case 141) captured 12 June 1864, the *Hope* (Case 149) captured 10 July 1864, the *Elvira* (Case 168) captured 24 February 1865, and the *Amazon* (Case 170) captured 2 March 1865. Also examined were

the court dockets for the prize cases, and the fire insurance policies that were taken out on the vessels by the marshal. These cases illustrate the development of United States Prize Procedure and the functioning of the Civil War prize courts.

The Civil War prize courts had their origins in the Union blockade. On 19 April 1861, President Abraham Lincoln proclaimed the blockade of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Texas. On 27 April, he applied the blockade to Virginia and North Carolina. The proclamation instructed the commanding officers of United States naval warships to stop any vessel that attempted to enter or leave a blockaded port. The stopped vessel was to be warned of the blockade, and have the date of the warning endorsed on her register. Should that vessel be stopped again, she would be seized and sent to the nearest port for adjudication by a prize court. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles issued further instructions on 1 May that outlined the protocol for encountering neutral vessels.⁶

Merchants, mostly from English ports, challenged the seizures in the prize courts and, along with Europeans and Southern officials, argued that Lincoln had overstepped his constitutional authority with the establishment of the blockade. To that extent, any questions that the prize courts faced as to the legality of the blockade were settled when Congress passed the Act of 6 August 1861, which assured that Lincoln's actions had the same effect as if Congress authorized them and stopped the courts from reviewing the constitutionality of presidential acts due to ensuing Congressional approval.⁷

The federal district courts were left with the traditional job of a prize court, to determine the guilt or innocence of captured vessels based on evidence found aboard. Belligerents had an obligation to neutral states and their citizens to determine the legality of captures made during a blockade. Claimants in the prize courts could plead their case and hope to save their merchandise and vessel from a decree of condemnation.⁸

In the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District
of Pennsylvania.

The United States of America,

vs.

Sloop Hope

AND CARGO.

In Admiralty.
PRIZE.

This 22nd day of August, A. D. 1864, *Charles Gilpin*
~~George A. Conner~~, Attorney
for the United States, for the said District, who in this cause prosecutes in their behalf, alleges and
propounds articulately as follows:

1. Hostilities and Civil War do now, and at and before the date of the capture hereinafter alleged, did
exist between the said United States and certain revolted, rebellious, and insurrectionary States, Districts,
territories and parts thereof, and their inhabitants.

2. A blockade of the coasts waters and ports of the said States, Districts, and territories, and among
others the State of *Georgia*, in accordance with the Proclamations
of the President of the United States, issued respectively on the 19th and 27th days of April, A. D. 1861,
had been before said capture duly established; and from thence hitherto has been and still is maintained
and enforced.

3. The said *Sloop* whereof _____ is Master, her
tackle, apparel and furniture, and the cargo and lading thereof, on the 10 day of *July* 1864
on the high seas off Sapelo Sound State
of Georgia

were captured by the "*Lodona*", a vessel of war of the United States,
under command of *Acting Vol. Lieut Geo. E. Welch*; and were brought into this District for
adjudication.

The libel was the first document entered into court against a prize ship. During the first two years of the war, the libel for each case was written out by hand. By 1864, it was printed up as a broadside so that the district attorney's office only had to fill in the necessary information, as shown here for Case 149 against the *Hope*.

The procedure of the United States prize courts was based on rules obtained from British courts that predate the American Revolution.

Prize regulations were developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in an effort to establish neutral rights. During the wars of the previous centuries, the question arose as to how to enforce a blockade without interrupting neutral shipping. Belligerents needed a way to determine if a cargo were neutral or contraband, and they needed something that would give them solid evidence to take before an admiralty court. The ship's papers became the item of choice, as they described the ownership of the vessel and the

destination and description of the cargo. Neutrals began to allow belligerent vessels the rights of visit and search, granted that the search was limited to the ship's papers.⁹

During the Revolution, courts began to set the precedents for the United States' use of prize law, when each state set up its own admiralty court. These courts followed the procedure of the colonial vice-admiralty courts, which had an undisclosed procedural structure. Regardless of which American prize court one looks at, the procedures remained the same. The case was opened with the libel stating the reasons why the vessel was captured, and the charges brought against the vessel. The libel was an item found in the colonial vice-admiralty cases but not in prize cases in England. The ship's papers were turned over to the admiralty judge, and depositions were taken from those involved with the capture. In most of the states, the cases were heard before a jury. For the most part, this procedure was followed by the different state prize courts. The federal government became involved with the adjudication of prize cases when the Articles of Confederation gave appellate jurisdiction to the Continental

Congress. This power was later given to the Court of Appeals in Cases of Capture in 1780.¹⁰

The Judiciary Act of 1789 gave the federal courts jurisdiction over admiralty cases and excluded them from jury trial, much to the disturbance of American lawyers. This decision was well-supported by those in the government who felt that jurisdiction in admiralty cases "belonged in the hands of the federal courts." The Act also gave the courts the jurisdiction to establish rules of procedure from the beginning. The first time the federal courts fully exercised their admiralty jurisdiction in prize matters was during the Quasi-War with France. From 1798 to 1801, United States Navy vessels captured

about eighty-four French armed vessels, with about half being condemned in United States courts. However, the courts did not adopt the first admiralty rules until 1842, of which very little is known. Since court rules were rarely published during this period except in pamphlet form, it is impossible to determine the sophistication of the procedures. Another reason for the lack of documentation was that admiralty procedure was grounded in international law and could have been found in parts of major legal works.¹¹

To understand the Civil War prize courts, it is necessary to look at the development of procedures in federal district courts prior to the war. In general, the federal courts lacked standard rules of procedure during the nineteenth century. This was a result of federal law which stated that the courts were to follow the established rules for the states in which they were situated, as long as the rules did not interfere with federal statutes. One drawback was that it made it difficult for a judge to follow the holdings of another court. The district courts adopted rules regulating court administration and clarifying practice. No lasting record of these rules remained, for they were kept in the clerk's office, and were also published only in pamphlet form, none of which have survived. Congress passed legislation in the nineteenth century for the operations of the courts. For the most part, these acts regulated what types of cases the courts could hear, and they set the grounds for appeal and the payment of court officers. However, procedural rules left more questions than answers. In some courts, state rules of practice were followed more strictly, while the decisions of the federal courts were simply ignored.¹²

While the Judiciary Act of 1789 placed prize proceedings in the hands of the district courts, the courts at the time of the Civil War were unprepared to handle these prize cases. Between 1862 and 1864, Congress passed several acts regulating the handling of prize cases. These acts covered every aspect of the prize proceedings: outlining the responsibilities of the prize crew and the court officials and detailing the rights of the captured crew, the

duty of the court and the distribution of prize money. However, the courts were on their own in establishing prize proceedings during the first year of the war.

Since there were no set procedures for the operations of federal courts during the nineteenth century, it is worthwhile to compare the Philadelphia prize court with the New York court, using Robinton's Chapter 3, "The Procedure of the New York Prize Court." For the most part, the procedures of both courts were identical. The responsibilities of the court officials were the same: the prize commissioners collected the evidence and inspected the vessel; the district attorney entered the libel and represented the interest of the United States government throughout the case; the marshal served writs for the court and conducted the sales of the prize; and the judge was responsible for delivering the verdict. The only difference between the procedures of the two courts seems to be the order in which events unfolded. In New York, the marshal would not be ordered to seize the ship until after the district attorney entered the libel against the vessel.

In the Philadelphia prize cases, the marshal was ordered to take possession of the vessel and cargo on the same day that the case was referred to the prize commissioners.¹³ This slight alteration would seem to fall within the individual court's right to adapt rules of procedure. Federal statute had dictated the responsibilities of the court officers, but not the order in which the actions were to be carried out. It is therefore probable that any variations found in the procedures of the Civil War prize courts were in the order of execution, not with the action of the court.

When it came to the responsibilities of the court officers during prize proceedings, their jobs differed very little from the ones established under the Judiciary Act of 1789. In most cases, particularly for the marshal, prize procedure brought increased duties. The officers for the Federal District Court of Southeastern Pennsylvania during the Civil War were Judge John Cadwalder, District Attorney George A.



Judge John Cadwalder (1805–1879) served on the bench of the District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania during the Civil War, and presided over all prize cases that came before the court. Since the cases were not brought before a jury, it was up to the District Court judge to determine whether a vessel had been captured legally.

Coffey, District Attorney Charles Gilpin (who took over after Coffey's death), Marshal William Millward, Deputy Marshal Thomas B. Patterson, Prize Commissioners Henry Flanders and John Young, and court clerk G. R. Fox. For the most part, the duties of the officers remained the same for the proceedings of the prize courts.

The job of the district attorney was to represent the interests of the United States and the captors. He prepared and filed the libel, which was the standard legal document that started the court proceedings against the captured vessels. It stated the reason why the vessel

was captured, the reason for bringing the prize into the court for adjudication, and requested the court to condemn the vessel.¹⁴

There were two consistent reasons for requesting condemnation among the cases examined. The first stated that the vessel "and the goods wares and merchandize laden on board there of were at the time of said seizure the property of enemies of the United States." When it came to property of Southern citizens, residency was grounds for seizure, regardless of the allegiance of the owner. This stance by the court ended many wrongful seizure claims, particularly those that originated during the early years of the war. The other reason stated that "the said goods, wares, and merchandize were contraband of war and were intended for and capable of giving aid and comfort to the said insurgent traitors and enemies of the United States." Primarily, libels were filed against vessels trying to run the blockade. However, there were some unusual circumstances that brought a vessel before a prize court. The libel filed against the *Abbie Bradford* (Case 10) sought to obtain salvage for the recovery of the vessel after she was captured by the CSS *Sumpter*. The libel was filed on behalf of the crew of the USS *Powhatan*, and requested "a just and reasonable salvage be decreed to the said salvors." According to the libel, if the owners paid the salvage money the vessel and cargo would be returned to them. If they did not, the vessel would be sold at auction.¹⁵

During prize proceedings, the marshal made sure that the orders of the court were carried out and saw to the safety of the prize. Upon the order of the court, he would take custody of the vessel and cargo from the prize commissioners, and was responsible for its safe keeping until the verdict was passed. During this time, the marshal was to protect the prize from natural and purposeful destruction. Should he notice that the prize was perishable or deteriorating, he could request a sale to preserve the item's value. To further protect the value of a prize, the marshal took out fire insurance policies on each individual case. In the Philadelphia cases,

Marshal Millward took out policies on the cargo and vessel, which were renewed monthly. The policies were held with at least twenty-four different national and international insurance companies, but were issued through three Philadelphia based insurance brokers: R. O. Lowery's Insurance Agency, Wm. D. Sherrerd Insurance Broker, and Warner.

When a prize was condemned, the marshal was responsible for carrying out the sale. In accordance with federal statute, this was done through public sale, with the money being deposited with the Treasury Department. While the prize was in his custody, the marshal was responsible for reporting the costs acquired. These costs included wharfage, security, towage, any movement or storage of the cargo, weighing of cargo, repairs to vessel, removing and drying of sails, advertising, insurance, and fees (which included those of the marshal himself, the prize commissioners, the auctioneer, and any experts). Costs in prize cases could run anywhere from five hundred dollars to in excess of two thousand dollars.¹⁶

Duties of the prize commissioners were established by Congress on 25 March 1862. They were to receive the prize vessel, the cargo, and any related papers from the prize master upon arrival, and take custody of the prize until the marshal seized it by court order. They were also responsible for making the initial inspection of the prize, interrogating the crew, and reporting their findings to the court.

Federal legislation, passed 25 March 1862, stated that the prize commissioners were:

To take the testimony of the witnesses prescribed by law, pursuant to the rules and under the interrogatories adopted by the court, and separately from each other and unattended by counsel, and the said papers, documents, and testimony, securely to seal with their seals, and as soon as practicable deposit in the registry of the court.¹⁷

Once the prize commissioners deposited the package containing the papers and testimony, the court could begin the trial.

To interrogate the crew, the prize commissioners would ask prepared questions designed to elicit the greatest amount of information concerning the crew, ship, voyage, and cargo. The witnesses were asked about birthplace, residence, citizenship, and residence of their family. At the same time, the questions would weed out any contrived stories. Many of the details required corroboration or correction by other members of the crew and could lead to self-contradiction.¹⁸

The prize commissioners's reports that accompanied the depositions and ship's papers defined the key information about the case for the judge. This information included facts about the ship, the owner, its voyage, the details of the capture, and any incongruencies in the depositions. In the report for the prize ship *Wonder* (Case 112), Prize Commissioner Henry Flanders stated that the testimony of the mate and the cook contradicted that of the ship's master. This report does not make any conclusions, and, in a sense, was a brief introduction into the case.¹⁹

The court made the prize commissioners responsible for preparing an inventory of the cargo of a prize vessel. The inventory provided a full description of the cargo and included who sent the item, to whom it was being sent, which state or country they resided in, and the date of shipping. A typical inventory entry reads:

Twelve Millstones. Consigned to Ravenel & Co. Charleston, S.C. as appears by bill of lading dated April 17, 1861, and marked S&W. The consigners are Stuart L Warry.

There is no invoice nor letter of advice. Judge Cadwalder requested this document, but the letter was lost along with the exact reason for its request. Upon speculation, such a document would prove valuable for the judge while reviewing the nature of the case, and in determining whether the vessel and cargo were indeed lawful prize. The Prize Commissioners Report for the Cargo of the Sloop *Hope* (Case

149) gives an accounting of the cargo and its condition. Both commissioners recommend, "that an early sale of the... cotton and tobacco be had as best guarding the interest of all concerned."²⁰

The judge could also request that the commissioners, and possibly an outside expert, examine the testimony of the witnesses. The judge might ask for a report in navigation and ship handling, considering that one of the prize commissioners was required to be a retired naval officer. In the Philadelphia Prize Case Files, there is a report from Captains John H. Young and Enoch Brooks concerning the handling and course of the prize ship *Elmira Cornelius*, which had been captured on a voyage from Port Royal, S.C., to New York. The master of the vessel claimed that he had moved towards the South Carolina coast in an effort to prevent his ship from sinking, and that he thought the boats the USS *Restless* had sent were coming to assist. Judge Cadwalder found discrepancy in the testimony and questioned the actions of the master. To help answer the question, Cadwalder turned to nautical experts to examine the issue, "as a nautical and not a legal one." Captains Young and Brooks examined the testimony to see if "the facts of the voyage from Port Royal are consistent with a destination in good faith for New York, continuing without wilful deviation until the time of capture." The report stated that the actions of the master were not in keeping with naval/maritime protocol, nor would any of his efforts have helped to save the ship. They concluded that the conduct of the master was suspicious enough to warrant a decree of condemnation. Judge Cadwalder did condemn the vessel and cargo, based on his understanding of maritime protocol and "upon the expertise of these gentlemen."²¹

When all of the facts were presented and all petitions heard, the judge would make his ruling. In the majority of cases reviewed for this article, Judge Cadwalder condemned the vessel and cargo on the grounds of being enemy property. It is apparent from prize case documents at the National Archives Branch in Philadelphia

and at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that Cadwalder carefully examined the cases before him. The report Cadwalder requested to help in his decision of the *Elmira Cornelius* (Case 89) is but one example. The majority of the evidence which the judge reviewed came from the prize commissioners' reports. To facilitate in making a ruling, Cadwalder would also have charts drawn up to illustrate the events of a capture, as well as look for precedents in prize law that dated back to the eighteenth century. From his notes, it would appear that he needed to review issues concerning territorial maritime jurisdiction and blockade law. This is understandable since they are not common legal concerns in civil cases.²²

Once a vessel and cargo were condemned and the sale concluded, the court was left with financial matters. Federal statute passed in 1863 dictated the terms of distribution for prize money, which was used to pay for the court costs, with the remainder of the proceeds being split between the Federal government and the captors. There were two types of court costs: those for services rendered during the adjudication of the case and those related to the care and disposal of the prize. The fees of the district attorney and court clerk were in the first category, with the expenses of the marshal in the second. The fees of court officers were fixed by the court and by federal law, and required that any money over the annual official income had to be turned over to the Treasury.²³

The Treasury Department would credit the account of the Navy Department when it received prize money from the courts. Distribution of the prize money was done through the Navy Department, split fifty-fifty between the federal government and the captors. For every lawful prize captured, each officer and crew member aboard the capturing ship and those on ships within signal distance shared the prize money. There were instances when vessels would contend that they had participated in a capture or were in signal distance of a capture. The captain of such a vessel would then petition the court to be included in the distribution of prize money. The judge was responsible for settling this issue, and would base his decision

on the testimony of other witnesses involved in the case. Also, squadron commanders were eligible for a share of the prize money, even if they were not present at the capture.²⁴

Throughout the period of the Civil War, the procedures followed by the federal district courts changed little, if at all. Rather than change, the four years of war probably brought familiarity to the court in handling prize cases. While the United States is not often thought of in the context of having tremendous experience with prize law prior to the Civil War, the little experience that was gained during the early nineteenth century was enough to establish rules and procedures for the federal courts to follow. It is also interesting to note that the federal courts were trying prize cases for almost a year before the Congress passed legislation governing the procedures and rules of the prize courts. In essence, the procedure followed by the Civil War prize courts was a combination of international prize regulation and federal civil

procedure that had been developed during the United States earlier experience with prize cases. The courts followed the established principle of basing guilt or innocence on the ship's papers, the testimony of the crew and the contents of the cargo. While the officers of the court were unprepared to deal with the prize cases, they were able to adjust to the particulars of prize law.

This small sampling of cases shows just one of the potential historical questions that the Civil War prize cases can raise and answer. While court cases do not have the excitement of a Union warship chasing a sleek blockade runner, they are an integral part of the naval history of the Civil War. As more books focus on the history of the war at sea, the Civil War prize courts remain one of the last areas to receive an in-depth study. Only a thorough examination of these records can show how the courts operated, the importance of their decisions and the effect they had on the war.

NOTES

1. "Report of Prize Commissioners, 2 January 1862," "Claim and Affidavit of J. McKenzie, 10 August 1861," Case 5, *Civil War Prize Cases in Philadelphia*, RG 21, National Archives Philadelphia, File 42-E-22 (hereon referred to as RG 21).
2. Robert J. Plowman, "An Untapped Source," *Prologue* 12:3 (1989), 204.
3. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles led the faction in the Lincoln Administration that argued for the closing of the Southern ports as an appropriate course of action. Secretary of State William Seward was the chief supporter of the blockade faction. The split occurred over whether a nation could blockade part of its own coast. Stuart Anderson, "1861: Blockade vs. Closing Confederate Ports," *Military Affairs* 41:4 (1969), 190-193.
4. Stuart L. Bernath, *Squall Across the Atlantic: American Civil War Prize Cases and Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 18-21.
5. Madeline Robinton, *An Introduction to the Papers of the New York Prize Cases* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), 28-32.
6. Carlton Savage, *Policy Toward Maritime Commerce in War 1* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1934-1936), 87-88.
7. Ludwell H. Johnson, "Abraham Lincoln and the Development of Presidential War-Making Powers: Prize Cases (1863) Revisited," *Civil War History* 35:3 (1985), 213.
8. Bernath, 9.
9. Francis Deak and Philip C. Jessup, "Prize Law Procedure at Sea: Its Early Development," *Tulane Law Review* 7 (1933), 488-492; It was also during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the rules for stopping a suspected vessel were established. The blockading vessel was allowed to summon a suspect ship with a gun shot, and if the ship did not comply, the use of force was allowed. With merchantmen who did obey the summons, a boat was usually sent with an officer and two or three men to inspect the ship's papers. If the boarding party was suspicious of anything they found, or did not find, in the papers, the vessel could be seized and sent to a home port for adjudication. Otherwise, she was free to go on her way. Deak and Jessup, 494-496, 526.
10. Henry J. Bourguignon, *The First Federal Court: The Federal Appellate Prize Court of the American Revolution, 1775-1787*, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1977), 191-197, 236-237; Erwin C. Surrency, *History of the Federal Courts* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1987), 145.
11. Maeva Marcus, *Origins of the Federal Judiciary: Essays of the Judiciary Act of 1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 16, 55, 176, 293:

- Dwight F. Henderson, *Courts for a New Nation*, (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1971), 58, 60–61, 108–109; Surrency, 151, 187–189; The Second Congress of the United States passed a bill which corrected shortcomings in the Process Act. One of the elements of this bill allowed the federal courts to alter the rules in admiralty cases as needed, which stated that the rules of admiralty court were “subject to such alterations and additions as the said courts respectively should deem expedient.” The only restriction was that the changes could not interfere with federal statute. Henderson, 41.
12. Surrency, 132, 135–6, 138, 195–6.
 13. Prize Case Dockets, 30 December 1861 – 24 October 1866, *Civil War Prize Cases in Philadelphia*, RG 21, National Archives Philadelphia, File 42-E-21.
 14. Robinton, 59–60.
 15. “Libel,” Case 5; “Libel,” Case 12; “Libel,” Case 89; “Libel,” Case 149, RG 21: Bernath, 30; On 6 August 1861, the Congress approved “An Act to Confiscate Property used for Insurrectionary Purposes.” This Act allowed for the confiscation and condemnation of property being used for the support of the insurrection against the United States government. It defined an insurrection as when “the laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, by combination too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the power vested in the marshals by law.” Under this Act, private property used in aiding the insurrection was libel for confiscation. George P. Sanger, *Statutes at Large* 12 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1864), 319; “Libel,” Case 5; “Libel,” Case 12; “Libel,” Case 89; “Libel,” Case 114, RG 21; There was no list of articles classified as contraband or war issued by the Departments of State or Navy. The initial list of contraband came from the Treasury Department, and was initially designed to regulate the exports from Northern states to Southern ports that had been open. Savage, 91–93; “Libel,” Case 10, RG 21.
 16. Robinton, 60–61, 74–76; Sanger, Vol. 12, 759; George P. Sanger, *Statutes at Large* 13 (Little, Brown, 1866), 308; Fire Insurance Policies, *Civil War Prize Cases in Philadelphia*, RG 21, National Archives Philadelphia, File 42-E-25; “Report of Costs,” Cases 5, 12, 89, 114, 149.
 17. Sanger, Vol. 12, 374.
 18. Robinton, 22–24.
 19. “Report of the Prize Commissioners 11 June 1863,” Case 112, RG 21; “Report of the Prize Commissioners 11 June 1863,” Case 114; “Report of the Prize Commissioners 17 August 1864,” Case 149.
 20. “Report of Prize Commissioners, 2 January 1862,” Case 5; “Report of Prize Commissioners, 8 Aug. 1864,” Case 149.
 21. Port Royal was one of three Southern ports that had been opened by Presidential proclamation on 12 May 1863. After they were secured, customs checked the cargo of vessels bound for these ports to prevent them from becoming a point of entry for contraband, Savage, 91; “Opinion of Court, 9 May 1863,” Case 89; “Report of Captains John H. Young and Enoch Brooks 11 May 1863,” Case 89.
 22. Not all of the case files had a written verdict of condemnation, although all of the cases had a verdict of condemnation entered into the docket; “Decree 6 Sept. 1861,” “Decree on Cargo 22 Jan 1862,” Case 5; “Decree 14 Sept 1861” Case 10, RG 21; “Decree of Court 1 April 1863,” Case 12; “Decree of Condemnation 29 Sept 1863,” Case 114; “Decree of Condemnation 19 Aug 1865,” Case 149; Robinton, 141; “Judge John Cadwalder, Legal, Prize Cases,” Cadwalder Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 23. Sanger, Vol 12, 375, 759; Vol. 13, 312–313; Robinton, 76–80; Mark E. Neely Jr., “The Perils of Running the Blockade: Influence of International Law in the era of Total War,” *Civil War History* 32:2 (1989), 106.
 24. House, “Distribution of Prize Money, Letter from the Secretary of the Navy,” Serial Set Vol. 1187, H. exdoc. 25 (38–1); R. W. Daly, “Pay and Prize Money in the Old Navy, 1776–1899,” *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* 546 (Aug. 1948), 967; “Petition for Prize 25 May 1863,” Case 89; “Statement of Interest for Flag 25 May 1863,” Case 89; Virginia Laas, “Sleepless Sentinels: the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron, 1863–1864,” *Civil War Times* 31 (1985), 33.

THE EVOLUTION AND DEMISE OF THE UNITED STATES LINES, INC.

JOHN J. CLARK AND MARGARET CLARK

The evolution of United States Lines, Inc. (USL), owner of the SS *United States*, from the International Mercantile Marine Company (IMMC), owner of the ill-fated *Titanic*, is a case study in mergers and acquisitions (M&A). Although inspired by the profit motive, these

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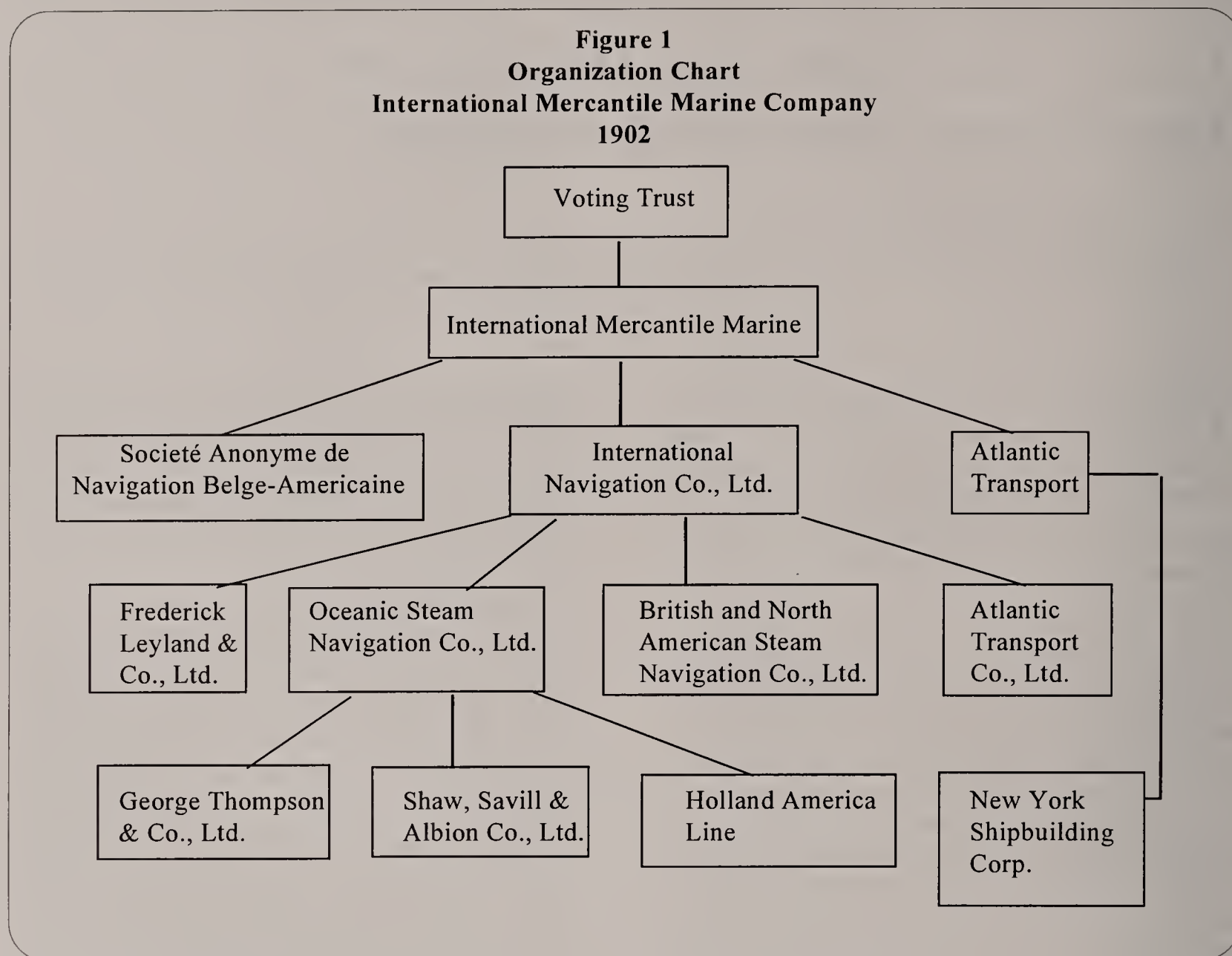
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acquisitions and divestments of corporate entities were, in significant measure, a response to new technology and to the failure of government policies to realistically address the endemic problems of the nation's maritime industry.

IMMC originated as a New Jersey corporation, the International Navigation Co., on 6 June 1893. On 1 October 1902, J. P. Morgan and associates changed the name to International Mercantile Marine Company. IMMC merged with its operating subsidiary, United States Lines Co. (Nevada), on 29 May 1943 and changed its name again to the United States Lines Company (New Jersey). On 3 January 1967, United States Lines Company (New Jersey) became a holding company by transferring all assets to a new wholly owned subsidiary, United States Lines, Inc. (Delaware). Between 1969 and 1970, Walter Kidde & Co., Inc. (Delaware) acquired the outstanding stock of USL. In April 1978, Kidde sold USL to McLean Industries Inc. The denouement unfolded in 1986, when USL filed under Chapter XI of the US Bankruptcy Code to restructure a \$1.3 billion debt. Bungled legal proceedings aborted the reorganization and compelled the liquidation of United States Lines, Inc. If the *Titanic* lies a rusting hulk beneath the North Atlantic, USL's travail is pictured in Philadelphia's harbor where the *United States*, still the World's Blue Riband holder, quietly decays.

Figures I and II depict the organizational charts of IMMC and USL. Figure I presents the initial organization of IMMC in 1902 and Figure II, the structure of USL following the reorganizations of 1948 and 1967. The former depicts the structure emanating from Morgan's

Figure 1
Organization Chart
International Mercantile Marine Company
1902



decisions after his negotiations with foreign governments and shipping companies to:

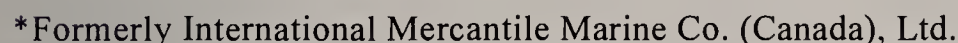
assure that freight from the interior regions to the East coast would be loaded aboard American-controlled ships for transport to Europe by contractual arrangements or interlocking directorates with the railroads, to affect operational economies by horizontal combinations, and earn monopoly profits for the combination and its promoters...¹

IMMC, controlled by a voting trust, was a holding company atop other subsidiaries which retained their corporate identities. This "pyramiding" of corporations can foster inefficiency by bureaucratic duplication of functions. Conversely, the holding company also allows for a decentralized management style which permits

each subsidiary to best pursue a specialized expertise and facilitates acquisition and divestiture of subsidiary units. Realization of potential economies depends upon astute and aggressive topside management — qualities lacking in Morgan's creation.

Under the leadership of P. A. S. Franklin, IMMC's directors voted in 1919 to dispose of the company's foreign subsidiaries. In 1926, IMMC sold all of its stock in the Oceanic Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. (White Star Line) to the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co. of England. By 1948, the company had been restructured to incorporate by a 100 percent voting power the companies noted in Figure II.²

Although reducing the number of subsidiaries and elimination of the voting trust promised fewer bureaucrats and enhanced efficiency, USL adopted a centralized management style. The company had four operating divisions



In 1964, USL sold the passenger liner, SS *America*, for \$4.25 million and in 1995, its Australian service to Farrell Lines, for about \$7 million. These transactions left the company with a fleet of forty-five cargo vessels totaling 542,882 deadweight tons plus the *United States* (52,070 tons), the world's fastest passenger liner. The Line at one time operated *Leviathan* (48,942 tons), *Manhattan* (24,289 tons), *Presi-*

With US entry into World War I, *Leviathan* (ex-*Vaterland*), built for Hamburg-America, was interned by the US Shipping Board. The ship required a seven month overhaul due to willful damage by the last German crew before returning to sea as troop transport under Navy command. *Leviathan* completed nineteen round trips in this capacity.

Following war service, the Shipping Board selected William Francis Gibbs to supervise *Leviathan's* conversion to peacetime service. The United States Lines, advertised as the “managing operators for the United States Shipping Board,” was an IMMC affiliate and acquired *Leviathan* as its flagship on 4 July 1923. During twelve years of civilian service,



United States. Courtesy of the Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia.

the liner earned sporadic profits. Her superior size and speed would be advantageous only if the ship had a running mate to support a balanced express service. *Leviathan* sailed east for the last time in January 1938.

USL contracted with the Maritime Administration for an Operating Differential Subsidy and Construction Differential Subsidy under the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. On 7 April 1949, the Maritime Commission agreed to pay \$70.37 million toward construction and \$9 million annually for operating costs of the *United States* as successor to *Leviathan*. The Government approved Gibbs' design in 1945 but kept the project under wraps until the keel was laid in 1950 at the Newport News Yard in Hampton roads. In early 1952, the ship floated from drydock for test runs and reached a speed of 44 knots — kept secret for years.

Secrecy permeated the design and construction of the *United States*. Intended as a fast troop transport to carry 15,000 troops 10,000

miles, the Navy required an abnormally high fuel capacity; subdivided watertight compartments; distribution of machinery to allow operation even when severely damaged; and emphasis on fire control. Gibbs also had a penchant for speed. He conceived a ship that would compete against airliners by a combination of speed and capacity.⁵

Great expectations bore fruit in the most mechanically advanced and structurally elegant liner afloat; yet a ship of war that could not disguise her military birthright. With a split personality, the *United States* could not match the interior dignity and grace of the pre-World War II floating palaces.

Construction emphasized aluminum, asbestos and minimum use of wood for lighter weight. Her 52,070 tons enclosed a 990 foot hull and 102 foot beam — 2,500 tons lighter than comparable vessels and about two-thirds the size of Cunard's *Queens*. The eight boilers (six operational at any given time) built of new

alloys raised steam pressure to a thousand pounds per square inch to power turbines driving four propellers at a speed in excess of 35 knots. Except for the pianos, no wood was built into the decor, although balsa did fill each bilge keel and lignum vitae lined the propeller bossings. Wooden radios and oil paintings were banned. Fire retardant paints and fabrics were standard for interior spaces. Total air conditioning controlled ship temperatures. Secrecy dictated a ban on access to engine room spaces plus stringent measures to restrict dissemination of performance data and shaft horsepower. Revolution counters, for example, were concealed from the crew.⁶

United States carried two thousand passengers (nominally, 870 First Class; 508 Cabin Class; and 551 Tourist). On 3 July 1952, USL's pride embarked on her maiden voyage, commanded by the famed Captain Harry Manning. The ship completed the eastward voyage in three days, ten hours and 40 minutes — averaging 35 knots from Sandy Hook, winning the Blue Riband and shaving ten hours, two minutes off the old record. A record westbound voyage averaged 34.4 knots. Only very few knew the ship could have made 48 knots at 240,000 horsepower.

Conventional wisdom suggested *United States* should enjoy a satisfactory patronage in her early career, although the speed and economy of air travel became increasingly difficult to match. In her first five voyages, the passenger list "rarely reached 1,800," and the ship paid for itself only two months of the year. Several attempts to develop a cruising market failed and the liner lost \$2.83 million in 1968 after allowing for the Operating Differential Subsidy and overhead.⁷

On 10 January 1969, Walter Kidde & Co., Inc. merged with United States Lines, Inc. after acquiring all outstanding USL common stock. In addition, USL's operating subsidy would terminate on 31 December 1969, and the company could ill-afford to pay interest on or to amortize the Construction Differential Subsidy. Exhibit I presents the revenues, costs, and the Operating Differential Subsidy for the pertinent years. Elimination of the operating subsidy

would have turned profits to losses. Circumstances dictated retirement of the *United States* from service in 1969.

All the same, other events conspired to suggest the decision. The previous decade was a time of growing labor-management tension. In 1955, the merger of the AFL-CIO encompassed 12.6 million workers, one-third of the working force. For maritime corporations, the number of contract negotiations increased as did the number of grievances. Add to these problems, the disparity of contract expiration dates; multiplicity of shipboard unions; and, in consequence, a plethora of strikes — legal and wildcat. The industry faced a rising curve in operational costs and a legal system, emanating from the by-gone days of the New Deal, indigenously favorable to labor. For management faced with the prospect of another strike, lay-up would at least offer time for reflection.

Then there were the customers. Gibbs' speed and luxury formula came apart. The bland decor of *United States* contrasted sadly against the Art Deco of the *Normandie* and the ambience of comfort permeating Cunard's *Queens*. Gibbs' overly modern and metallic public rooms turned off passengers. To Second and Third Class passengers, the compartmentalization appeared restrictive and a reminder of the vessel's military mission. For all embarked, dining room and personal service did not match the *savoir faire* of the French and Italian Lines. The *Constitution*, *Independence*, *Argentina*, *Brasil*, *Santa Rosa*, and *Santa Paula* similarly failed in the cruise trade and were laid up.

The *United States* tied up at Pier 15 in Newport News, Virginia, and so remained for twenty-five years. In April 1992, the vessel was auctioned by US Marshals after her former owner, Richard Hadley, failed to pay \$160,000 for more than a year's worth of pier rent. Marmara Marine, Inc. (a Turkish combine) bought the ship for \$2.6 million. Marmara had the ship towed to the Aegean and planned to refit the vessel as a cruise ship plying the eastern Mediterranean.⁸ The combine's plans failed to materialize. Stripped of all davits and its four propellers lashed to the stern deck, the ship was

EXHIBIT I

**UNITED STATES LINES, INC.
REVENUES, OPERATING COSTS AND ODS SUBSIDIES**

Year	Total Operating Revenue (TOR)	Operating Subsidy (ODS)	ODS as Percent of Tor	Net- Operating Revenue
1960	\$178,024,926	\$34,329,657	19.3	\$15,583,107
1961	168,578,368	36,426,452	21.6	13,949,056
1962	184,778,837	37,330,067	20.2	16,651,077
1963	178,089,683	38,893,051	21.8	10,386,072
1964	193,130,438	40,106,159	20.8	14,896,559
1965	148,146,674	31,628,773	21.3	919,010
1966	182,039,932	30,342,773	16.7	11,875,404
1967	183,248,614	32,044,156	17.5	1,032,284

	Net Profit	Net Profit as Percent of Tor
1960	\$ 8,009,361	4.50
1961	11,701,668	6.90
1962	9,519,597	5.20
1963	9,008,007	5.10
1964	11,595,840	6.00
1965	8,976,023	6.10
1966	8,149,125	4.50
1967	28,376	Less than 0.5 of 1%

Source: MOODY'S TRANSPORTATION MANUAL for cited years.

towed back to the US by a Russian tug at a cost of \$1 million.

The plan to dock at Boston was canceled when the superstructure obstructed Logan Airport flight paths. Philadelphia became the next destination with the intention to tie up at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. The latter, however, had closed by 30 September 1996. The range light mast and radar were then removed to allow the vessel to pass under the Walt Whitman Bridge. Today, the vessel moors at Pier 82 north of the Bridge on Oregon Avenue in the City of Brotherly Love.

Legal troubles followed the *United States*

home. In January 1997, the ship was "arrested" for nonpayment of mortgage since 1994. The plaintiff was Everette A. Cantor and the defendant, Marmara Marine. Cantor had purchased an 85 percent interest in the ship and held a \$6 million lien on the vessel. *United States* was again put up for auction at the Federal Courthouse in Philadelphia. Cantor exercised a portion of his credit bid and became the legal owner of the vessel. Her future employment or scrapping is a subject of local debate.⁹

Before reviewing USL's acquisition by Walter Kidde & Co., Inc. and then by McLean Industries, Inc., as the company ran down to bankruptcy in 1986, it is pertinent to assess the status of USL's merchant fleet and the financial health of the company.

USL and its corporate progenitors before and after World War II combined passenger service and freighter operations. The former included *Leviathan*, *Manhattan*, *America*, *Washington*, and *United States*. All sailed singly without a companion ship to provide full service and higher revenues.

In 1929, the US Shipping Board had sold its remaining fleet of World War I vessels to Paul W. Chapman Company which intended to operate the vessels in merchant service. The stock market collapse in 1929 and the ensuing depression of the 1930s upset Chapman's aspirations while the costs of operating *Leviathan* also contributed to IMMC/USL deficits. Chapman's payments to the Shipping Board were soon in arrears. He refused a bid from IMMC/USL to acquire his vessels and the Shipping Board prepared to resume control. Chapman then joined with Kenneth Dawson and Stanley Dollar (son of the west coast shipping magnate, Robert Dollar) to

bargain a deal with IMMC/USL. Kermit Roosevelt (son of President Theodore Roosevelt and owner of the Roosevelt Steamship Company) and John Franklin (son of P. A. S. Franklin) represented IMMC/USL. The Dollars sought supremacy in Pacific coast shipping and exclusive rights to the name "President" for their liners. United States Lines won preeminence in the Atlantic. The deal, which set the course of liner traffic in both oceans for the next thirty years, made American President Lines the largest commercial fleet to fly the American flag.¹⁰ The layup of the *United States* in 1969 ended USL passenger service. The company might now concentrate on the financial and management challenges presented by the emerging containership technology.

In the 1950s, USL basically operated a World War II fleet of forty-eight ships: forty C-2 Cargo vessels, six Victory type cargo ships in addition to SS *America* (a combined cargo and passenger vessel) and the SS *Washington*. Cargo operations, however, changed dramatically in 1968–1969 with the introduction of containerships that facilitated intermodal cargo transportation with attendant economies of scale and the promise of reduced labor costs. By 1970, USL's fleet totaled thirty-one vessels: sixteen containerships (including six modern Lancer Class vessels); fourteen break-bulk cargo ships (six modern Challenger Class and eight converted Mariner Class) plus the *United States*, laid-up at Newport News. By 1977, the fleet expanded to fourteen fast Challenger Class general cargo vessels; eight new Lancer Class containerships; one Leader Class containership; plus another sixteen containerships — one of the largest fleets (thirty-nine ships) owned and operated under the US Flag.¹¹

By 1980, five American firms—Sea-Land, Farrell, Lykes, United States Lines, and American President Lines—owned two-thirds of all United States flag liner tonnage. Sea-Land alone owned more than one-fifth of US tonnage and was the world's largest container operator in the maritime trades.¹²

Conversely, the new technologies necessitated a costly turnover of invested capital involving flotation of new security issues. Since recapitalization preceded the inflow of anticipated revenues, the innovations would test the acuity of USL's financial managers. In the years between 1946 and 1963, the financial picture of USL did not suggest a darkening horizon. However, due to the costs of modernizing the company's fleet, signs of stringency in cash flow surfaced between 1964 and 1968. Exhibit II depicts USL's problems of economic growth.

The financial challenge of modernization was compounded by the risks of maritime enterprise. Shipping is a mature, capital intensive industry subject to seasonal and business cycles, changes in oil prices and trade balances, intercompany rate wars and labor conflicts. In an effort to stabilize the industry, managements frequently sought to negotiate revenue pooling agreements and/or takeovers. The following constitutes a sample of the uncertainties afflicting the industry between 1972 and 1974:

1. Containerships are of little use except in trade between highly industrialized countries and operators are unlikely to move ships from one route to another after spending huge sums to position land-based container handling equipment.
2. For over two years, the North Atlantic lines were the scene of a rate war between containership operators. Over-tonnage averaged 30%. Sea-Land, for example, put into service two super-efficient ships (SL-7s) that tripled the number of containership spaces available weekly on the North Atlantic. It was forecasted that it would take over five years for the volume of trade to reach the break even point and seven years before significant profits might appear.
3. Over tonnage in containerships was exacerbated by competition from break-bulk and barge carriers. If speed were not an overriding factor, shippers might economize by resorting to such lower cost carriers.
4. To stabilize rates, companies plying the

EXHIBIT II

**UNITED STATES LINES, INC.
FINANCIAL EFFECTS OF FLEET MODERNIZATION**

	1964	1968	Percent Change
Current Assets	\$40,248,784	\$27,638,818	-31.3
Current Liabilities	27,375,671	29,938,132	+9.4
Long Term Debt	45,293,554	65,643,473	+44.9
Capital Investment (Before Depreciation)	172,831,783	189,131,885	+ 9.4
Depreciation	66,693,897	78,078,340	+17.1
Operating Revenues	191,130,438	183,248,614	- 5.1
Operating Differential			
Subsidies	40,106,159	32,044,156	-20.1
Interest Payments	1,909,595	3,169,880	+66.0
Net Profit	11,595,840	28,376	-99.8
Earnings Per Share (Common)	\$6.04	-0.01	-100.0
Earnings Per Share (Preferred)	\$85.34	\$0.21	-99.8

Source: Moody's Transportation Manual (1969), 1546-1549; (1970), 1562.

North Atlantic trade routes agreed to revenue sharing. The agreement assigned percentage of revenues as follows: United States Lines, 18%; Sea-Land, 17%; Seatrain, 11.25%; American Export, 8.75%; Atlantic Container Line, 20.25%; Hapag Lloyd, 14.175%; and Dart Container Line, 10.575%. Participation by American lines was subject to Federal Government review.

5. American Export Lines incurred substantial debt to complete ocean terminal projects and was unable to meet a \$5 million payment due banks in 1972 and \$51.1 million due in 1973. The company faced bankruptcy unless an agreement with creditors could be worked out.
6. The International Longshoremen's Association ratified a new contract which gave them a 32.5% wage increase over a three year period.

7. Dock strikes in the US induced many shippers to move container cargoes through Canadian ports at significantly lower costs. Canadian rates were based upon volume container rates which were lower than the normal single container carload rates quoted in the US. It would be difficult to repatriate this business.
8. The OPEC oil cartel cut back production, which was anticipated to raise crude oil prices.¹³

Established companies with financial problems are wont to resort to the opportunities of the M&A market for a solution. USL was no exception and in the process would encounter Walter Kidde & Co., McLean Industries, Inc., and R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company (RJR).

Walter Kidde & Co, Inc.:

Lynch classified Walter Kidde as an acquisitive conglomerate; i.e., a firm that consolidates two or more unrelated firms under one management with the primary objective to increase profits by diversification rather than by specialization. In 1968, Kidde managed thirty-seven domestic and ten foreign subsidiaries in twenty-four states and six foreign countries. Outputs spanned heavy and light manufacturing and provision of personal services. Successful management rested less on accumulated experience than on systems analysis and cost-effectiveness studies.¹⁴ Whatever, merger with Kidde offered USL the prospect of new funds to ameliorate its financial problems.

USL's new president, John J. McMullen explained his support for the merger. USL realized a profit in 1968 from its nine C-2 and five Challenger Class vessels chartered to the Military Sea Transportation Service. Traffic from South Atlantic Ports to the United King-

dom and the Continent produced \$8 million in revenues and would break even. Prospects on the North Atlantic were good due to the performance of USL's new Lancer Class containerhips. Far East routes were expected to yield some profit. However, the company had no cash surplus to pay dividends and in the first nine months of 1968 had a loss after tax credits of \$11.15 million largely due to the heavy costs of getting its new containerhip operation underway in the North Atlantic. Kidde anticipated servicing the new technology required by containerization. Financially, the merger constituted a stock swap. USL common shareholders received \$51 in Kidde shares for each USL common share.⁷

The merger permitted USL to retain its corporate identity. However, to assure Kidde a voice in the management of USL, representatives of Kidde were seated on USL's board of directors. These included: B. N. Ames, Vice-President; J. X. Killbridge Senior, Vice-President; J. F. Raffaldini, Senior Vice-President and General Counsel; F. R. Sullivan, Chairman and President. J. J. McMullen, Chairman and President of USL, served as a director on Kidde's board.

But why did Kidde choose to sell USL less than two years later? Did Kidde anticipate a rollover deal or underestimate USL's financial difficulties? In December 1967, Kidde purchased 351,000 USL common shares for \$16,930,000 in cash or \$48.23 per share. In that year, USL common sold at a high of \$48 per share and a low of \$30.38. In 1968, Kidde acquired an additional 591,905 shares. USL shares were then selling at a high of \$52.12 and a low of \$41.00. If purchased at \$52, Kidde paid a total of \$30,779,060. Kidde now had a 45% interest in USL. For the remaining 55% interest, on 10 January 1969, Kidde paid \$51 in common and convertible shares, a total of \$58,290,150. In sum, Kidde paid approximately \$106 million for USL common with a book value of \$126 million.¹⁵ Given the travails of USL during the period of negotiation and the uncertainties of the maritime industry, Kidde may, on reflection, have concluded the deal too costly.

On 9 November 1970, Kidde contracted to sell all USL common to R. J. Reynolds Tobacco in exchange for an 8% note of \$65 million to be delivered at a later date but due not later than 9 November 1976. The proposed sale would be consummated on the tenth day after final approvals from the Federal Maritime Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Federal Maritime Administration.

In the event such approvals did not materialize, a supplemental agreement required RJR to designate an independent financial institution which would, no later than 9 November 1976, make alternative disposition of USL common and its assets by private or public sale and assure that the \$65 million note or its equivalent be delivered to USL. Although Kidde must continue to operate USL in a prudent competitive manner until the sale was consummated under one of these agreements, its financial position would not be affected by USL operating results after 9 November 1970.

In fact, the necessary approvals were not obtained as the proposal became entangled in a web of hearings before Federal executive agencies and courts:

1. On 15 December 1970, the United States Department of Justice filed an antitrust action at Federal District Court of New Jersey. Justice requested the merger be enjoined and the Supplemental Agreement be declared null and void. Acquisition of USL by Reynolds would materially diminish competition and violate the anti-merger provisions of the Clayton Act. Sea-Land Service, Inc., acquired by R. J. Reynolds in 1969, was a major competitor of USL in the operation of containerhips.
2. The Federal Maritime Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission held hearings but no decision had been reached by 14 March 1972. The Maritime hearing examiner recommended rejection of the proposal, however.
3. On 12 February 1973, the Maritime Commission approved the acquisition of USL by Reynolds subject to the conditions designed to ensure continued viability of USL as a

competitive entity but disapproved the Supplemental Agreement in view of its approval of the merger agreement. The parties filed their acceptance of the Commission's stipulations on 3 March 1973.

4. In March 1973, however, the United States Supreme Court announced that it would not review the decision of the District Court which held that the Maritime Commission did not have jurisdiction with respect to the proposed merger. The Supreme Court already had under consideration the question of the Maritime Commission's jurisdiction over mergers which arose in another case.
5. On 28 June 1974, the US Court of Appeals, District of Columbia, ruled that the Maritime Commission did not have jurisdiction over the proposed acquisition or the Supplemental Agreement. On 16 December 1974, the Supreme Court denied a petition to review this decision and on 9 June 1975 denied a petition for rehearing.
6. On 15 July 1974, American Export Lines, Inc. requested the Federal District Court, District of Columbia, to set aside the Interstate Commerce Commission's approval (7 March 1974) of the proposed sale of USL in view of the Court of Appeals decision. In September 1974, Commerce agreed to reconsider its decision of 7 March and, on 13 March 1975, vacated and set aside its previous approval. Commerce held its jurisdiction over these transactions was limited to Inter-Coastal and Coast-Wide operations of the parties to proposed sale of USL to Reynolds.¹¹

Finally, in April 1978, Kidde succeeded in selling United States Lines, Inc. to McLean Industries, Inc. for \$110.8 million.

McLean Industries, Inc.: Malcolm McLean, innovator in containership technology and aggressive entrepreneur of intermodal transportation, founded McLean Trucking Company in 1934. After purchase of Waterman Steamship Corporation and its subsidiary, Pan-Atlantic Steamship Corporation, he incorporated McLean Industries, Inc., formerly McLean

Securities Corp. The purchases gave McLean a fleet of 37 C-2 vessels with the third largest dry cargo carrying capacity of US flag fleets.¹⁶

In 1956, McLean converted a T-2 tanker into a containership. The innovation, he believed, would ameliorate the malignant conflict between shippers, stevedores, and port authorities by reducing pilferage, lowering cargo handling costs, and speeding up loading and discharge.¹⁷ He started Sea-Land Service, Inc., a containerized freight service company utilizing the concept of intermodal highway trailers over land and sea. By 1970, Sea-Land, a subsidiary of McLean Industries, Inc., operated a fleet of forty-eight containerships transporting more than 35,000 computer controlled containers on regular calls to port terminals throughout North America, Europe, the Caribbean and the Far East.¹⁵

In 1968, McLean convinced the New York Port Authority to recondition dock facilities in Port Elizabeth, New Jersey to provide marshaling space for his trucks near the ships. The new system gained the enmity of stevedores and longshoremen by circumventing their cherished "prerogatives" but won the enthusiastic support of truckload shippers and shipping companies. The latter redesigned the traditional cargo vessel by adapting the classic oil-tanker profile. American Export Lines joined with Isbrandsten and Farrell Lines to put a new series of containerships afloat.

By early 1969, Sea-Land had expanded its international fleet to six ships in the Atlantic and six in the Pacific. All Sea-Land ships were conversions but the competition sailed new and faster containerships. Also, Sea-Land was an unsubsidized carrier, and it would cost approximately twice as much to build new containerships in the US compared to a foreign country. If McLean chose foreign build and American registration, the company would face multiple restrictions on the deployment of its fleet.

The conundrum was resolved on 13 May 1969 when R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., a conglomerate seeking further diversification, acquired McLean Industries and its subsidiary, Sea-Land Service Inc.

EXHIBIT III
United States Lines, Inc.
A Candidate for Acquisition

January 1969: Walter Kidde & Co, Inc. acquires United States Lines, Inc.

May 1969: R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc. (formerly R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., Inc.) acquires control of McLean Industries, Inc. and its subsidiary, Sea-Land Service, Inc.

November 1970: Walter Kidde & Co., Inc. contracts to sell all United States Lines' common stock to R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc. Sale is aborted by Federal agencies and courts.

April 1978: Walter Kidde & Co., Inc. sells United States to McLean Industries, Inc. R. J. Reynolds Industries now controls McLean Industries, Sea-Land, and United States Lines.

May 1984: R. J. Reynolds Industries, in a retreat from diversification, spins-off McLean Industries and distributes Sea-Land Service stock to holders of R. J. Reynolds Industries' common stock. The spin-off leaves McLean and Sea-Land as separate, independent corporate entities. McLean Industries remains in control of United States Lines, Inc.

... merger provided a source of capital from which Sea-Land felt that it could get funds for reasonable investments in new ship construction. No longer constrained by a need for capital, Sea-Land ordered from foreign shipyards five SL-7's in August and three more in September. In addition, they took steps to begin using more sophisticated planning methods, such as computer simulations, in the future.¹⁸

The terms of the merger were ultimately significant to the future of all parties. McLean Industries and its wholly owned subsidiary, Sea-Land Service, Inc., retained their corporate identities. Reynolds' stake in its new acquisitions was limited to equity securities and its assets were not pledged to support the liabilities of McLean or Sea-Land. The agreement provided:

1. Holders of McLean common shares received, on a tax free basis, one share of Reynolds' \$2.25 Convertible Preferred with a voluntary liquidation and redemption price of \$45 per share and convertible at any time with the payment of \$22 into 1.5 Reynolds' common shares. The convertible

preferred would be non-redeemable for 10 years and entitled to ½ vote per share.

2. Before the merger would become effective, Reynolds was to purchase from American Hawaiian Steamship Co., National Bulk Carriers, Inc., Litton Industries Inc. and the pension trust for Litton subsidiaries a total of 2.3 million shares of McLean Common Stock at \$50 per share.
3. Holders of each share of Reynolds' 3.6% Series Preferred Stock received \$80 principal amount of Reynolds' Subordinated Debentures due 1 June 1989, non-callable for 10 years and subject to sinking fund accumulation commencing in 1980.
4. Holders of McLean's 1st Preferred Stock and McLean's Cumulative Preferred received for each share redemption prices of \$56 and \$50 respectively plus accrued and unpaid dividends.

The McLean-Reynolds merger constituted a pooling of interests of approximately 76% and a purchase of assets of 24%. Malcolm McLean joined the Board of Directors of R. J. Reynolds Industries.

Concomitantly, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco reorganized as a holding company—the consequence of substantial diversification and growth

in non-tobacco holdings. The stockholders approved a change of name to R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc. in 1969. After 22 April 1970, R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. became a wholly owned subsidiary of R. J. Reynolds Industries. The Tobacco stockholders became shareholders of R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc.¹⁵

On 27 January 1983, McLean Industries acquired all the outstanding stock of Moore-McCormack Lines, which operated cargo vessels between the United States, South America and Africa. Moore-McCormack ships had deck cranes, so that they could handle break-bulk cargo in a conventional manner as well as container shipments. This hybrid arrangement necessitated stops where terminal facilities were exclusively break-bulk and/or container cargo, thereby increasing operating costs. On 25 January 1985, McLean acquired eleven vessels from Delta Steamship Lines, Inc. for \$36.6 million.

In the fifteen years between 1969 and 1984, R. J. Reynolds Industries secured control of McLean Industries, Sea-Land Service, Inc., and United States Lines, Inc. These years witnessed the growing popularity of Conglomerate acquisitions stressing the enhanced profits from diversification as opposed to Horizontal, Vertical, Product Extension, and Market Extension combinations which in varying degrees lean toward specialization. There are rewards and risks to each path of expansion. However, by 1979 the conglomerate had lost a measure of appeal.

In May 1984, R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc., in a change of corporate policy, spun off Sea-Land Services, Inc. by distributing Sea-Land common to holders of R. J. Reynolds common (including Malcolm McLean). Sea-Land paid Reynolds \$400 million in settlement of intercompany balances and as a partial return of investment. The distribution reduced the R. J. Reynolds common equity by \$753 million. Sea-Land common distributed to Reynolds shareholders attained a market value on the New York Stock Exchange exceeding \$425 million after the spin-off.¹⁵ Exhibit III recaps the trail of acquisitions.

USL's willingness to entertain merger

offers as a means to enhance deficient cash flows also reflected the problems attendant on retention of American registry. It costs more to construct and operate commercial vessels in the US than elsewhere.

Government programs of preference and subsidization from cabotage to operating and construction differential subsidies have, without exception, failed to achieve stated objectives. Enterprising management might haul down the US flag and raise a Flag-of-Convenience (FOC) ensign. In fact by 1997, there were more American owned vessels registered with FOC states — 353 including 239 tankers, bulk carriers, and container ships — than the 305 privately owned vessels registered in the US. Malcolm McLean recognized that US registration and subsidization stifled creative management and rationale deployment of company fleets. Consider the following constraints on the management of subsidized shipping companies in effect at the time:

1. Subsidized firms were not permitted to have a beneficial interest in foreign shipping operations or to transfer to Flag of Convenience;
2. A minimum number of sailings were specified on particular routes, although fewer sailings might better serve the trade and reduce expenses;
3. The depreciable life of a subsidized vessel was set at 25 years, although a longer term might be justified by type of vessel and particular usage;
4. Operators might not transfer a subsidized vessel from one trade route to another without government consent. Management, therefore, could not respond expeditiously to changes in demand.
5. Cabotage restricted competition to defined markets which artificially increased shippers' costs. As a corollary, subsidized vessels were excluded from the protected domestic trades. Government created and protected two oligopolistic markets.
6. In attempting to assure the foreign trade needs of all US coasts, the government specified the ports a subsidized operator

EXHIBIT IV
McLean Industries, Inc.
Financial Position
1982-1986

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Current Assets*			\$347.2	\$321.0	\$254.8
Current Liabilities			265.9	297.3	331.8
Long Term Debt	\$277.2	534.0	838.9	1,058.6	1,820.0
Revenues		\$784.5	959.0	1,184.0	1,035.0
Depreciation	28.4	34.7	47.2	56.8	65.0
Net Profit	56.0	26.6	61.6	(72.5)	(125.0)
Earnings Per Share**		0.65	1.53	(1.89)	(8.40)

* Millions of dollars

** Dollars per share

Source: *Value Line Investment Survey*, "McLean Ind. OTC" (1987), 295.

might serve. Here too, limiting competition between subsidized vessels tended to raise rates.

7. Vessels built with CDS support might not be sold or otherwise transferred to foreign ownership without government consent.
8. Mergers, acquisitions and other forms of change in corporate rate control involving subsidized carriers also had to be approved by government.
9. Minimum manning, wages and working conditions were specified for subsidized ships, although Federal labor law amply protected the rights of employees.¹⁹

All the same, it was not beyond the wit of man to have created a program to protect US flagged vessels *viz-a-viz* subsidized foreign operators and concurrently maximize competition between vessels under its jurisdiction. On 24 November 1986, McLean Industries, Inc., its direct subsidiaries, and its transportation subsidiary United States Lines, Inc. and United States Lines (SA) filed petitions in the United States Bankruptcy Court (Southern District of New York) seeking to reorganize under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code.

The filings were precipitated by the deteriorating financial condition of the companies, caused by the severe depression in the ocean transportation industry and the inability to renegotiate the company's debt burden to provide sufficient long-term relief from creditors.¹⁵

Exhibit IV depicts the deterioration of McLean Industries' financial position in the run down to filing for reorganization. McLean's real estate affiliates, Purcell Co., Inc. and M. P. M. Transportation, were not parties to the Chapter 11 proceedings. R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc., for reasons adduced above, was not a party to the proceedings.

The companies were authorized to continue in management and control as debtors-in-possession. A debtor-in-possession is permitted to conduct its business under court supervision while bankruptcy proceedings are pending.

In June 1987, McLean's ailing shipping subsidiaries — United States Lines, Inc. and United States Lines (SA), Inc.:

reached an agreement in principle to dispose of substantially all of their

remaining operating shipping assets. US Lines also entered into a letter of intent with Sea-Land Corporation for the transfer of six vessels... presently in its Transpacific/ Hawaii/Guam service, to Sea-Land.¹¹

By 1995, only three freighter companies remained under the US flag: Sea-Land, trading world wide; Lykes Brothers, connecting southern ports to Central and South America; and American President Lines in the Pacific. But all three had applied for reflagging, citing taxes, insurance costs, curtailment of CDS subsidies, and US wage rates over four times foreign rates.

The filing by United States Lines, Inc., to reorganize a \$1.3 billion debt set off an international scramble by creditors to acquire the company's assets dispersed around the globe:

US bankruptcy laws simply don't offer much of a shield. And foreign courts typically don't recognize the idea of bankruptcy reorganization, which gives debtors time to attempt a fresh start in business.²⁰

For example:

Belgium: Creditors sued in local courts on November 30, 1986. The Belgian court placed USL's assets in Belgium under a trustee.

Britain: Creditor banks froze the company's accounts on November 25, 1986. British courts forbade removal of \$1 million in assets. In June 1987, the court appointed a trustee to liquidate the assets.

Netherlands: US Lines asked a Dutch court on December 15 to protect its European headquarters from seizure by creditors. The court turned down the request. Dutch creditors then filed for involuntary bankruptcy against USL.

Italy: To recover the money USL owed to Italian employees, the courts declared the company's branch office bankrupt on March 4 and placed the company's assets in receivership.

Canada: In December, Canadian creditors attempted to seize cargo owned by USL. The latter stopped the maneuver by threatening to sue creditors' subsidiaries in the United States.

Hong Kong: On December 9, 1986, creditors "arrested" a US Lines' containership in the Hong Kong harbor. In response, the US bankruptcy cited them for contempt and levied fines.

Singapore: Creditors seized three more containerships in harbor. The ships were sold at auction in August 1987. The auction yielded \$16 million for ships that cost \$184 million to build. The ships were anchored off Malaysia and owned by US Lines creditors as of November 1987.

South Africa: A wholly owned US Lines' subsidiary was forced into receivership. In April 1987, the US bankruptcy court made a special exception in permitting the company to transfer \$50,000 in shipping containers and other property to South Africa to remove creditors' liens. The subsidiary was placed in liquidation.²⁰

As a consequence, US Lines could not reorganize and its business was liquidated. The dynasty had come to an end.

As postscript, Morgan and McLean were both exponents of intermodal transportation. Morgan would connect ships and railroads; McLean, ships and trucks. In 1986, most of the profit gains were made by intermodal operators on land-based rail operations, an area in which McLean Industries had only a minimum presence.



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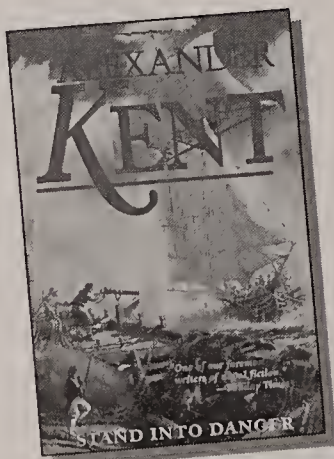
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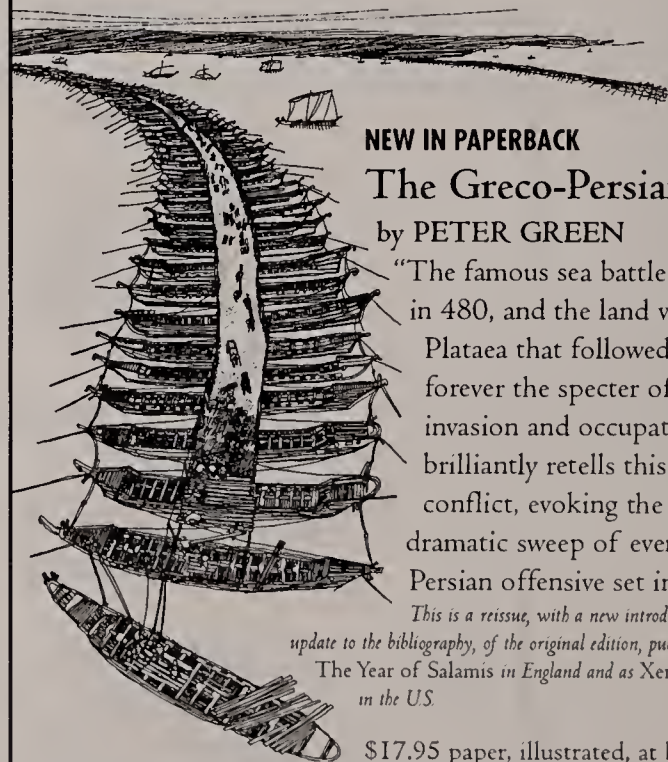
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COMMUNICATIONS INTELLIGENCE AND MURMANSK CONVOYS JW 56A, JW 56B, AND RA 56: 12 JANUARY–9 FEBRUARY 1944

DAVID SYRETT

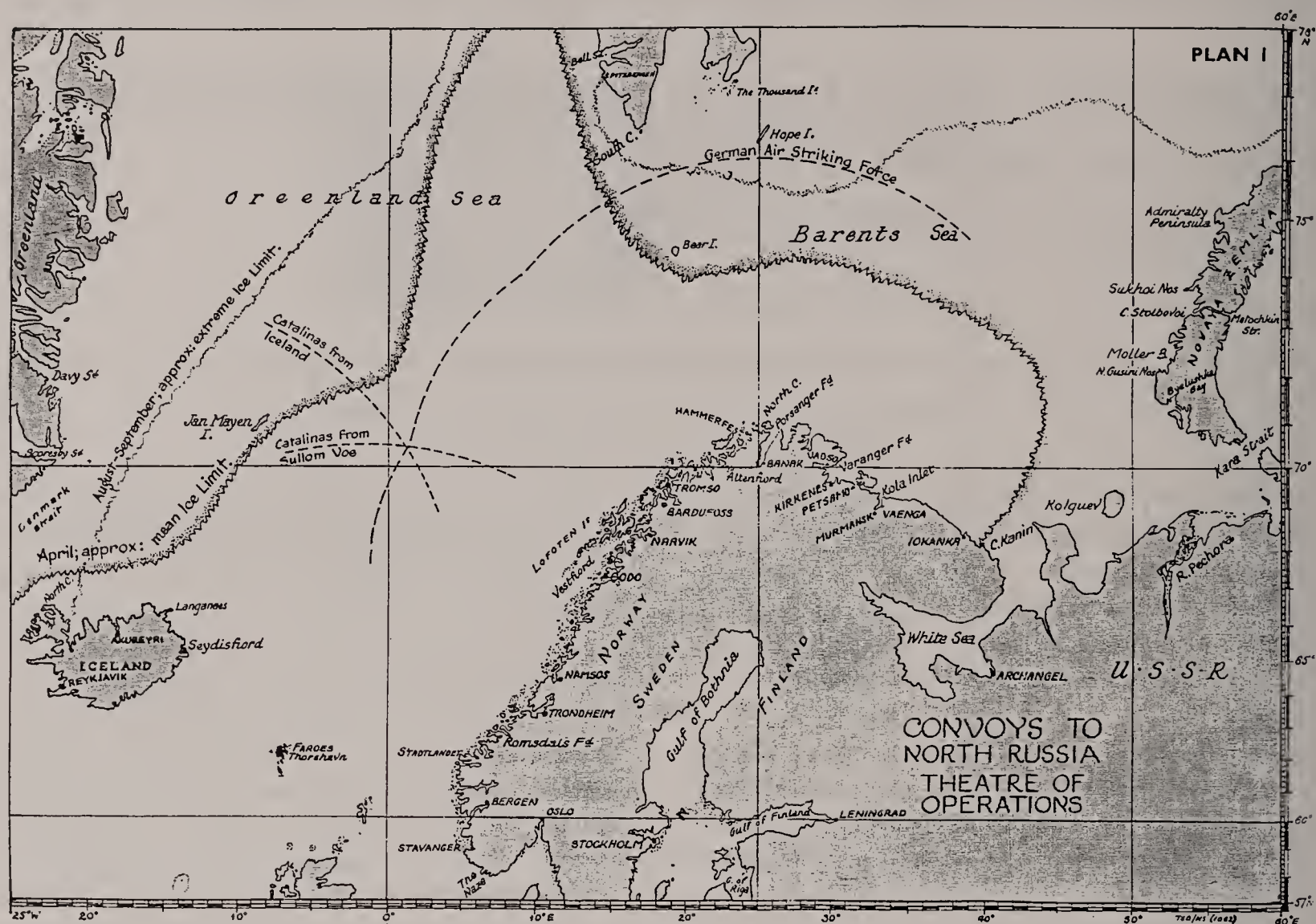
Several weeks after VE Day, Rear Admiral John H. Godfrey, a former director of British naval intelligence, wrote that “no respectable historian would dream of writing a naval history of the late war” without a knowledge of the role of communications intelligence in the conflict.¹ The role of communications intelligence in the battles fought over convoys sailing to northern Russia, with the exception of the destruction of Convoy PQ 17, has been for the most part neglected or played down by historians.² In official histories by S. E. Morison and S. W. Roskill, there are not many references to communications intelligence. These works are, for the most part, surveys for the record as it existed in the 1950s and 1960s. Intelligence officers work in secret and, if possible, like to keep things secret forever. This veil of secrecy was not lifted until F. W. Winterbotham published *The Ultra Secret* (London, 1974) which told, for the first time, of Allied ability to read German coded command radio communications. Publication of *The Ultra Secret* led to declassification and the placing in American and British archives of various documents dealing with communications intelligence during World War II. Even though these documents permit histori-

ans to reconstruct the naval war against the Germans much more clearly and precisely than ever before, scholars have been slow to make use of these materials.³

Between August 1941 and May 1945, the Allies sailed forty convoys, consisting of 811 merchant ships, around northern Norway to the north Russian ports of Archangel and Murmansk. Fifty-eight merchant ships and nineteen warships, including two cruisers, were lost to enemy action.⁴ Sending military supplies to northern Russia was among the most hazardous of convoy operations during World War II. Convoys sailed from Great Britain and Iceland through the Arctic Ocean and Barents Sea via the North Cape of Norway to Murmansk and Archangel. During the winter months, Allied vessels often encountered fierce storms which damaged the ships and scattered the convoys. Moreover, they had to proceed in almost total darkness. Daylight hours in the Arctic during the winter months consist, for the most part, of nautical twilight (the sun being twelve degrees or less below the horizon) producing just a glimmer of daylight.

Whilst battling these harsh natural conditions, Allied ships were also subjected to heavy attacks from German surface units, aircraft, and U-boats based in northern Norway. The Germans attacked the convoys with every weapon at their disposal, for they considered it of the greatest strategic importance to prevent, by any means possible, military supplies from reaching the Russians. Most Allied military aid to the Soviets was shipped through the Far East and Iran, but they were under heavy pressure from Stalin to send supplies through north Russian

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ports.⁵ Due to this intense pressure, the Allies believed that they had to sail convoys to north Russia almost without regard to the difficulties of the operation and the cost in ships and men.

It was Allied policy at this time to sail small convoys to north Russia in the belief that small groups of ships, which could be easily maneuvered, had a better chance of eluding U-boat and air attacks. Further, small convoys could be more easily kept together and, if scattered by a storm, could be quickly reformed.⁶ As a result, JW 56 was divided into two small heavily-escorted convoys — JW 56A and JW 56B. Convoy JW 56A, consisting of twenty merchant ships, sailed from Loch Ewe, Scotland, at 1500 on 12 January 1944, escorted by warships of a local escort group. Almost immediately, storms and heavy seas scattered the convoy. On 15 January, the American merchant ship *Nathaniel Alexander*, soon followed by three others,⁷ was forced to return to Britain. The rest of the convoy, after suffering heavy damage, was ordered to the port of Akureyri in Iceland for

repairs.⁸

The sixteen merchant ships of JW 56A which arrived at Akureyri also suffered structural damage, and their deck cargoes had shifted and required restowing. The American merchant ship *Joseph N. Nicollet* was found not to be in condition to proceed and returned to Scotland. Working parties from HMS *Kent* repaired the other damaged vessels and restowed their deck cargoes.⁹ On 21 January, the remaining fifteen merchant ships,¹⁰ escorted by eleven warships,¹¹ sailed from Akureyri. Two days later, cruisers HMS *Kent* and HMS *Bermuda* departed from Akureyri to provide a covering force.¹²

For the first time in months, the strategic situation in Norway was relatively favorable to the Allies. There were no major surface units of the German Navy in northern Norway capable of attacking convoys: the battle cruiser *Scharnhorst* had been sunk by the Home Fleet on 26 December 1943; the cruiser *Lützow* was in Germany undergoing repairs, and the battleship

Tirpitz was damaged and was not capable of putting to sea. The German Air Force [GAF] in northern Norway was weak. It could not undertake large-scale attacks on convoys, but could provide reconnaissance. Allied intelligence estimated that there were some thirty U-boats based in Norway, of which about eight to ten were operating across the intended route.¹³

The Germans were expecting the Allies to pass a convoy north of Norway, and had deployed a group of seven U-boats,¹⁴ codenamed *Isegrimm*, about eighty miles southwest of Bear Island. The Germans apparently knew that JW 56A was proceeding to Iceland.¹⁵ It is not clear how they obtained this information. One source states the data came from an agent in Reykjavik,¹⁶ but this is highly unlikely; apparently, there were no German agents in Iceland at the beginning of 1944. It is possible that the Germans obtained some knowledge of JW 56A from reading coded radio messages, but this is also unlikely; they were having difficulty in reading Allied codes at the beginning of 1944.¹⁷ Most likely, the main source of information came not from decoding Allied radio messages, but rather from analysis of radio transmissions. Captain (U/B) Norway [*Führer der U-Booten, Norwegen*] several times cites "radio-communication elucidation," which is radio traffic analysis, as a source of information.

The Germans also had some knowledge of the "cycles or "rhythms" of Allied convoys going to and from Russia.¹⁸ In any event, GAF aircraft from northern Norway undertook reconnaissance flights on 22, 23, and 24 January "against presumed PQ convoy." Nothing was sighted.¹⁹ Nevertheless, it was "appreciated" by the Germans that an Allied convoy would pass through the Bear Island Passage on 25 January.

At the same time, the Allies were reading German coded-command radio messages. They knew that GAF aircraft were hunting for JW 56A, as well as the approximate location of the *Isegrimm* group.²⁰ By the early hours of 25 January, it was clear to both the Allies and the Germans that there would be contact between the *Isegrimm* group and JW 56A. There was not enough sea room in the Bear Island Passage between the southern limits of the ice cap and

the northern shore of Norway for the convoy, by means of evasive routing, to evade the U-boats.

On 23 and 24 January, as JW 56A proceeded in a northeasterly direction towards the Bear Island Passage, ships of the convoy's escort obtained a number of HF/DF (high frequency direction finders) bearings on a nearby U-boat radio transmission. At the time it was thought that this U-boat was not shadowing the convoy. At 0231 on 25 January, Captain (U/B) Norway informed the *Isegrimm* group that "according to radio communications elucidation 'PQ' convoy can be expected to pass Bear Island Narrows soon." At 0958, *U-956* radioed "enemy in sight SQ at 6675." Twenty-two minutes later, she reported a destroyer and, at 1046, sighting the convoy. Upon receipt, Captain (U/B) Norway ordered *U-314* and *U-716* to sail from Hammerfest, northern Norway, to join the *Isegrimm* group.

The *Isegrimm* group was further reinforced at 1257, when *U-472* was ordered to join. Finally, at 1059, the U-boats were ordered to operate against the convoy on the basis of *U-956*'s sighting reports.²¹

From the number of radio transmissions made in the vicinity of JW 56A, Captain W. A. Robson, RN, commander of the convoy's escort, concluded that there was a U-boat off the starboard quarter. By 1300, Robson thought that there were at least four U-boats in contact with the convoy, and that the U-boat off the starboard quarter was acting as the "controller," or shadower, for the others. The destroyers HMS *Inconstant* and HMS *Offa* were sent to investigate. The U-boat was *U-956*, which submerged and fired a *zaunkoenig* — an acoustic homing torpedo — at one of the destroyers but missed. The two destroyers did not sight the U-boat, although Robson thought the operation had been successful; there was a "hiatus" in radio transmissions.²²

At 1340, HMS *Venus* and HN or MS *Stord* were sent to hunt down a HF/DF bearing on the starboard beam of the convoy. At 1400, HMS *Venus* sighted a U-boat, most likely *U-601*,

which after submerging fired a torpedo at the destroyer.²³ Sonar contact could not be obtained, and both warships then returned to their positions.²⁴

Throughout the late afternoon, the escorts continued to make offensive sweeps to drive away the U-boats. At 1830, HMS *Obdurate* obtained radar contact bearing 300° at a range of 3,000 yards. As the destroyer ran down the radar bearing, sonar contact was obtained. This contact was then run down. The target was classified as a U-boat. At 1834, however, the radar contact disappeared; two minutes later, an acoustic homing torpedo, fired by *U-360*, exploded about 20 feet off the starboard side of HMS *Obdurate*, just abreast of the after torpedo tubes. There were no casualties, but the destroyer's starboard engine was damaged beyond repair and her speed was reduced to 10 knots. At 1915, on Robson's orders, HMS *Obdurate* took up a position on the starboard quarter of JW 56A.²⁵

At 1833, Captain (U/B) Norway detached *U-313* from the *Isegrimm* group and ordered her to serve as a weather reporter. At 1941, he informed the *Isegrimm* group that the convoy was heading for Murmansk, and "the battle will therefore be of short duration;" they must "make full use of contact and weather early on." Later in the evening, the U-boats were informed to expect GAF reconnaissance aircraft in the area on 26 January.²⁶

Throughout the night of 25 January, the U-boats continued to approach JW 56A attempting to get into attacking positions. At 2014, an explosion was heard by HMS *Savage*. At first this was thought to be another depth charge attack. Minutes later, it was realized that the American merchant ship *Penelope Barker* had been torpedoed by *U-278*. At 2023, HMS *Savage* obtained a sonar contact, which was attacked with depth charges two minutes later. Sonar contact was regained but, while running in to attack a second time, the commander concluded that the target was most likely the wreck of the *Penelope Barker*. The attack, if carried out, would kill the survivors in the

water, and so was called off. HMS *Savage* instead picked up fifty-four survivors, after which she rejoined the convoy.²⁷

Just after midnight, *U-360* torpedoed the British freighter *Fort Bellingham*. Hit in the port side, she settled in the water but did not immediately sink. Shortly after the attack, *U-716* torpedoed the American freighter *Andrew G. Curtin*, which quickly sank. HMS *Offa* and HMS *Savage* picked up the survivors. Before rejoining the screen of JW 56A, HMS *Offa* attempted to sink the *Fort Bellingham*. The freighter did not sink, drifted astern of the convoy, and was later sunk by *U-957*.²⁸

The U-boats remained in contact with JW 56A during the morning of 26 January, as reported by *U-717*, *U-314*, *U-360*. The U-boats were by then also supported by GAF reconnaissance aircraft who, at 1134, reported JW 56A's location as 73° 03'N 28° 05'E. They further reported that the convoy consisted of twelve merchant ships steering a course of 50° steaming at a speed of 10 knots, which was confirmed by two Allied seamen from one of the torpedoed merchant ships who were picked up by the *U-957*. The aircraft, using radio beacon signals, attempted to home the U-boats in on JW 56A.

The Allies first sighted a GAF shadowing aircraft at 0910. Two more GAF aircraft were sighted at 1120. From radio traffic, Robson thought that the Germans were about to mount "a full scale" air attack on the convoy. However, this attack did not materialize because, according to the senior officer of the escort, there was "considerable confusion amongst the aircraft already airborne."²⁹

During the afternoon of 26 January, the U-boats lost contact with JW 56A. At 1504, *U-425* reported that she had lost the convoy. At 1637, Captain (U/B) Norway informed the *Isegrimm* group that he thought JW 56A was proceeding via 72° 27'N 33° 51'E and 70° 51'N 36° 30'E to Murmansk. At 1658, *U-737* reported that, in "very bad visibility," she had picked up a hydrophone bearing on the convoy in 73° 03'N 33° 30'E. At 1712, in an effort to get into position ahead of JW 56A, Captain (U/B) Norway ordered the *Isegrimm* U-boats to form a patrol line running from 72° 51'N 37° 50'E to 71°

33°N 32° 30'E.³⁰

At 2056, U-737 reported hydrophone bearings running from 30 to 50° true, "beyond doubt" several destroyers and steamships. She was ordered to send beacon signals in order to home in the others. However, at 2241, she reported that she had lost the hydrophone bearings. No further contact was made with JW 56A on 26 January, and the *Isegrimm* group was ordered to move further south to form a patrol line running along 71° 30'N between 32° 30'E and 38° 30'E.³¹

The Germans believed, on the evening of 26 January, that the U-boats attacking JW 56A had sunk at least four merchant ships and two destroyers, and that additional Allied

ships had been damaged. Admiral Northern Waters, after studying the reports of Allied ships sunk and damaged by the U-boats, proposed to send destroyers to sweep through the area of the battle at dawn on 27 January to



HMS *Offa*. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum.

finish off any damaged ships that might be encountered. This proposal was rejected by Group North and the German Naval Staff as being "not essential" and not serving "any useful purpose."³²



HMS *Savage*. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum.

In the meantime, further contact would be made between the convoy and the U-boats. At 0045, 27 January, *U-360* reported that she had been damaged in a collision with the *U-601*. *U-360* was then ordered to return to Norway. At 0652, *U-957* sighted a single ship proceeding south, but the contact was quickly lost. At 0903, GAF aircraft reported that the convoy was at 70° 30'N 36° 55'E. If this report was correct, then JW 56A had passed the night before through the *Isegrimm* patrol line without being sighted. Captain (U/B) Norway responded to this sighting report by ordering the *Isegrimm* U-boats to move further south and establish a new patrol line running from 70° 09'N 37° 50'E to 70° 51'N 32° 50'E. This new line, being only ninety miles off the Russian coast and across the entrance to Murmansk, was a final effort to intercept JW 56A. However, at 1041 Captain (U/B) Norway ordered the *Isegrimm* group to head west and north to 73° 03'N 15° 30'E. Operations against JW 56A were ended. The

convoy was drawing near to Murmansk and "another PQ convoy was reported approaching" from the west.³³

In all, twelve U-boats had operated against JW 56A. The U-boats, especially on the night of 26 January, had difficulty in maintaining contact with the convoy, most likely owing to poor visibility as well as to JW 56A maintaining an average speed of 9½ knots. Nevertheless, the U-boats fired at least twenty-nine torpedoes, sinking three Allied merchant ships and damaging HMS *Obdurate*. No U-boats were sunk by the convoy's escort.

Immediately after ending operations against JW 56A, Captain (U/B) Norway began redeployment of the *Isegrimm* group to attack Convoy JW 56B. GAF reconnaissance aircraft had sighted the convoy at 1215A, 27 January, at 68° 33'N 05° 15'W, and reported that the convoy consisted of fourteen merchant ships, escorted by seven destroyers, on a course of 30° and steaming at 10 knots. Captain (U/B)

Norway concluded that the Allied ships were heading for Bear Island Passage. In the meantime, three U-boats³⁴ of the *Isegrimm* group were ordered to Hammerfast to be refueled and replenished with torpedoes. Seven other U-boats³⁵ were formed into a group codenamed *Werwolf* and ordered to form a patrol line by 0600A, 29 January, to run from 71° 15'N 12° 30'E to 73° 09'N 09° 10'E.

The Allies decoded these orders at 0250 on 28 January.

On 28 January, the GAF sent two JU 88 aircraft to search for and shadow JW 56B. The *Werwolf* group was reinforced by *U-313*, bringing the strength of the group to eight. At 2137 on 28 January, the *Werwolf* group was informed that, beginning at 0900 on 29 January, GAF aircraft would shadow JW 56B and transmit radio beacon signals to home the U-boats in on the convoy.³⁶

On 22 January, the seventeen ships of JW 56B sailed from Loch Ewe.³⁸ The convoy, escorted by ten British warships,³⁹ proceeded north and then east-northeast, following approximately the same course as did JW 56A. On 23 January, the American Liberty ship *Charles Bulfinch* put back to Scotland, owing to "hot bearings." On 25 January, HMS *Rhododendron* was detached because of "engine defects." On 26 January, the escort was reinforced by six destroyers.³⁹ The next day, JW 56B was sighted, reported, and shadowed by the GAF.⁴⁰

On 28 January, Captain (U/B) Norway ordered *U-636* and *U-313* to operate in the same area as the *Werwolf* group, and reconnaissance aircraft were dispatched to shadow JW 56B. GAF aircraft intercepted and shadowed the convoy until 1500, reporting that the ships were on a course of 70°. Just after the reconnaissance aircraft departed, JW 56B's escort was reinforced by the destroyer HMS *Meteor*. At 1700, the convoy altered course to the northward. This was done because the Allies knew, from cryptographic intelligence, the location of the *Werwolf* patrol line, and intended for the convoy to pass some 40 miles to the north of the northern end of the *Werwolf* patrol line.⁴¹

JW 56B would have succeeded in escaping but for an error of navigation; the northernmost

U-boat was about 30 miles north of her assigned position. At 0934, *U-956* sighted the convoy and sent a report. Captain (U/B) Norway immediately ordered the *Werwolf* group to operate on that report. While sending her report, *U-956* herself was sighted on the surface by HMS *Mahratta*, which attacked the U-boat with gunfire, forcing the German vessel to submerge. She was hunted by HMS *Whitehall* and HMS *Mahratta* with sonar and depth charges for several hours. About thirty minutes after *U-956* had sighted JW 56B, the convoy was also sighted by a GAF reconnaissance aircraft.⁴²

At 1200, JW 56B changed course to the eastward. Throughout the afternoon and evening of 29 January, the escorts made repeated sweeps, ran down a number of HF/DF bearings, and conducted several attacks with depth charges. At 2114, the commander of the escort thought that there was a U-boat off the starboard quarter of the convoy as well as possibly one off each beam.⁴³

U-956, after being forced to submerge by JW 56B's escort, lost contact with the convoy for several hours, although at 1531 she once more regained contact with 56B. At 1618, Captain (U/B) Norway ordered her to maintain contact and to send radio beacon signals to enable other U-boats to gain contact. Throughout the evening of 29 January, U-boats maintained contact with JW 56B. At 1647, *U-427* reported a hydrophone bearing on the convoy of 70°. *U-956* attempted to attack the convoy, but failed when a torpedo exploded prematurely. *U-601* sighted a destroyer on an easterly course.⁴⁴

The Allies, knowing of the deployment of the *Werwolf* group, reinforced the escort. On 28 January, eight destroyers⁴⁵ which had formed the escort of JW 56A, sailed from the Kola Inlet and joined the escort just after midnight. They formed a broad screen fifteen miles ahead of the convoy.⁴⁶ At the same time, Captain (U/B) Norway had also strengthened the attacking German forces. Four additional U-boats⁴⁷ sailed from Hammerfest. They were subsequently formed into a group codenamed *Wicking* and ordered to assemble south of Bear Island, also



HMS *Obdurate*. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum.

across the suspected track of JW 56B. Had these U-boats been able to steam at a speed of 12 knots, they would have been in an attacking position ahead of the convoy by 0900 on 30 January.⁴⁸

In the early hours of 30 January, the Allies thought that there were as many as six U-boats in the vicinity of JW 56B. However, by 0300 the main threat appeared to be off the starboard bow and beam of the convoy. Six destroyers were ordered to sweep along the starboard side of JW 56B. A U-boat was sighted on the surface by HMS *Inconstant*. The British warship forced her to dive and then attacked her with depth charges. At 0347, a bearing was obtained on a U-boat radio transmission on the port quarter of JW 56B. Four destroyers were dispatched to hunt down this bearing. At 0404, HMS *Hardy* was hit by an acoustic homing torpedo fired by U-957. While HMS *Virago* maneuvered to pick up the survivors, HN or MS *Stord* circled the area hunting for the U-boat. At 0415, HNorNS

Stord obtained a sonar contact and attacked it with depth charges. After several attacks, a U-boat was blown to the surface; however, it immediately submerged and sonar contact could not be regained. By 0525, the survivors from HMS *Hardy* had been picked up. HMS *Venus* sank the wrecked destroyer with a torpedo in approximately 73° 37'N 18° 56'E.⁴⁹

At 0700, HF/DF bearings indicated several U-boats ahead of the convoy. Sweeps by HMS *Savage* and HMS *Vigilant* were without result. At 0817, HMS *Meteor* on the starboard bow of the convoy heard a torpedo being fired on her sonar. Throughout the rest of 30 January, there was contact between the escorts and the U-boats. Although the convoy was being shadowed by the GAF, the U-boats were having difficulty maintaining contact. At 1210, U-737 reported that she had been damaged "as a result of ramming ice when being hunted by destroyers." Owing to bad weather over the German air bases in northern Norway, the GAF was forced

to give up.⁵⁰

At 1940, JW 56B, in 73° 42'N 26° 34'E, turned southeast. This change was made sooner as well as and further to the west than was customary for convoys proceeding to Murmansk, for it was designed to force the U-boats to lose contact with the Allied force. In the meantime, four destroyers continued on the old easterly course to put down the U-boats which were thought to be ahead, while other ships of the escort made sweeps along the flanks and ahead of the convoy to throw the U-boats off the track. The alteration of course misled Captain (U/B) Norway. At 2000, he ordered the U-boats to form a line running roughly from 73° 30'N 35° 10'E to 72° 35'N 30° 30'E by 0600 on 31 January. If JW 56B had pursued her original course, it would have passed through the middle of this new patrol line.

Even after the convoy had changed to a southeasterly course, several U-boats reported sighting star shells. Captain (U/B) Norway thought them to be "a ruse." He ordered the U-boats to disregard them and to proceed to their assigned positions in the new line.⁵¹

At 0120, 31 January, U-278 reported to Captain (U/B) Norway that she had been forced to submerge by a "hunting group firing starshells." Hunted for three hours before escaping, she was now "searching to the southeast." Other U-boats also reported sighting star shells as well as the escorts. At 0904, the GAF dispatched a radar-equipped JU 88 aircraft to locate JW 56B. At 0948, the U-boats were ordered to move further to the southeast and to set up a patrol line 120 miles north of Murmansk.⁵²

At 1120, a GAF aircraft reported the convoy at 72° 30'N 34° 10'E on course of 90°. Even though the GAF managed to shadow JW 56B throughout the afternoon of 31 January, the U-boats were now able to attack the ships. At 1817, Captain (U/B) Norway, in a final attempt to intercept JW 56B, ordered the U-boats to establish a "last interception position" right across the entrance to Murmansk just 60 miles offshore. Owing to bad weather over the German air bases in northern Norway, the GAF aircraft, which had been shadowing JW 56B,

had to break off the operation at 2120.⁵³

By the early hours of 1 February, it was clear to the Allies and the Germans that the battle was over. At 0401, U-278 reported that she had been depth charged for four hours and now "consider pursuit useless." By 0700, even though the Allied escorts continued to obtain HF/DF bearings, the commander of the escort knew that the U-boats were dropping astern of the convoy. At 1549, Captain (U/B) Norway ordered the U-boats to steam northward to form a new patrol line and to be ready to attack an Allied convoy proceeding from Murmansk.⁵⁴

The Germans knew that the Allies would next sail a convoy from Murmansk west to the British Isles. Even before the arrival of JW 56B in north Russia, GAF aircraft had spotted some sixty-seven Allied ships, approximately thirty of which were over 5,000 GRT, in the Kola Peninsula. Given that it was Allied policy at this time to run small, heavily escorted convoys to and from north Russia, the westbound convoy had been postponed. This was due to lack of warships, since available warships were being used to reinforce the escort of JW 56B. The Allies decided to combine two convoys into one and sail one large heavily escorted convoy, RA 56, from Murmansk to Scotland.⁵⁵

On 3 February, convoy RA 56, consisting of thirty-seven merchant ships escorted by twenty-three warships, sailed from Murmansk.⁵⁶ The Germans deployed ten U-boats⁵⁷ across the expected course. Departure from Murmansk and the first stages of the voyage westward were covered by Russian aircraft. One aircraft sighted U-278 on 3 February and forced the U-boat to submerge. As a result, Captain (U/B) Norway directed that the U-boats remain submerged by day to "avoid the enemy discovering the patrol line." The next day, U-716 sighted three destroyers, but lost contact. On 6 February, a GAF reconnaissance aircraft sighted the convoy and shadowed it for a while transmitting radio beacon signals. Owing to bad weather, it lost contact.

Luck was with the Allies. Under cover of poor visibility and strong gales blowing from the east, RA 56 made a fast passage from Murmansk without coming into contact with the U-

boats, other than obtaining several long range HF/DF bearings. She arrived in Scotland on 9 February, without being attacked.⁵⁸

The Allies in the operations involving convoys JW 56A, JW 56B, and RA 56 successfully sailed thirty-one merchant ships to north Russia and thirty-seven merchant ships back from Murmansk to Scotland at the cost of one destroyer sunk, one destroyer damaged, and three merchant ships⁵⁹ sunk. No U-boats were seriously damaged. The Germans thought that they had won a large victory, for Captain (U/B) Norway estimated that the U-boats had sunk, from JW 56A and JW 56B combined, seven destroyers and four merchant ships, with another three destroyers probably having been sunk and six merchant ships "torpedoed," although their sinking had not been observed. A further six destroyers and one merchant ship were thought to be damaged.⁶⁰ This gross over-estimation came about because the Germans equated the number of torpedoes exploding at the end of their runs without being observed with successful attacks on Allied ships.

As far as the convoys to north Russia were concerned, each side enjoyed advantages that could at times be crucial. When attacking convoys sailing to north Russia, the Germans had the geographical advantage. A lack of sea room made evasive routing difficult and the Allied ships had to run, almost every time, a gauntlet of GAF and U-boat bases in northern Norway. For a number of reasons, communications intelligence was only of limited importance in overcoming this advantage of the enemy and hence in determining the outcome of the battles. Communications intelligence, in the form of decrypted German radio messages, however, gave the Allies important information concerning the locations of the U-boats.

At times, it was not possible to make full use of such information. For example, using information obtained from communications intelligence, the Allies attempted to route JW 56B around the northern end of a U-boat patrol line, but lack of sea room and GAF reconnaissance aircraft made such evasive routing nearly

impossible. In the end, JW 56A, JW 56B, and RA 56 had no other choice but to pass through the U-boat formations. At the same time, communications intelligence, in the form of radio traffic analysis, also alerted the Germans to the fact that the convoys were at sea, giving Captain (U/B) Norway general but useful information, such as the approximate location of the ships.

Working to the advantage of the Allies was the comparatively short length of the voyage and the relatively high speeds of the convoys, which greatly limited the amount of time the U-boats could be in contact with the ships. In addition, harsh Arctic weather and conditions of almost total darkness, while subjecting the crews of American and British ships to hardship, worked to the tactical advantage of the Allies. German aircraft and U-boats, for the most part lacking sophisticated electronic detection devices, had to rely on the human eye and hydrophone to gain and maintain contact with the enemy.

Of much greater importance to the Allies than communications intelligence was being equipped with sophisticated and technologically advanced types of electronic detection devices,⁶¹ which time and time again gave the escorts warning of the presence of U-boats. When an enemy craft had been detected by either HF/DF, sonar, or radar, one of the most effective tactics was to attack and force the enemy to lose contact with the Allied ships. U-boats, lacking sophisticated electronic devices and not being true submersibles, similar to nuclear submarines, were incapable of countering such electronic detection devices and anti-submarine tactics. Perhaps their weakness in shipborne electronic devices should have been offset by GAF aircraft. Both JW 56A and JW 56B were sighted and shadowed by the GAF, but the Germans, owing to a shortage of aircraft and poor coordination between the GAF and the U-boats, were unable to exploit fully the advantages of air power. Without a great effort made by the GAF, which would not be forthcoming, the U-boats could only harass, but not prevent, the Allies from sailing convoys to north Russia.

At the beginning of 1944, the U-boat was a

weapon system whose time had come and gone. During 1943, in the convoy battles of the North Atlantic, the U-boats had been decisively defeated.⁶² Following such a defeat, attacks against Murmansk convoys were nothing more

than a desperate holding operation on the part of the Germans, with an obsolete weapon system, in an attempt to prevent the flow of military supplies to Russia.



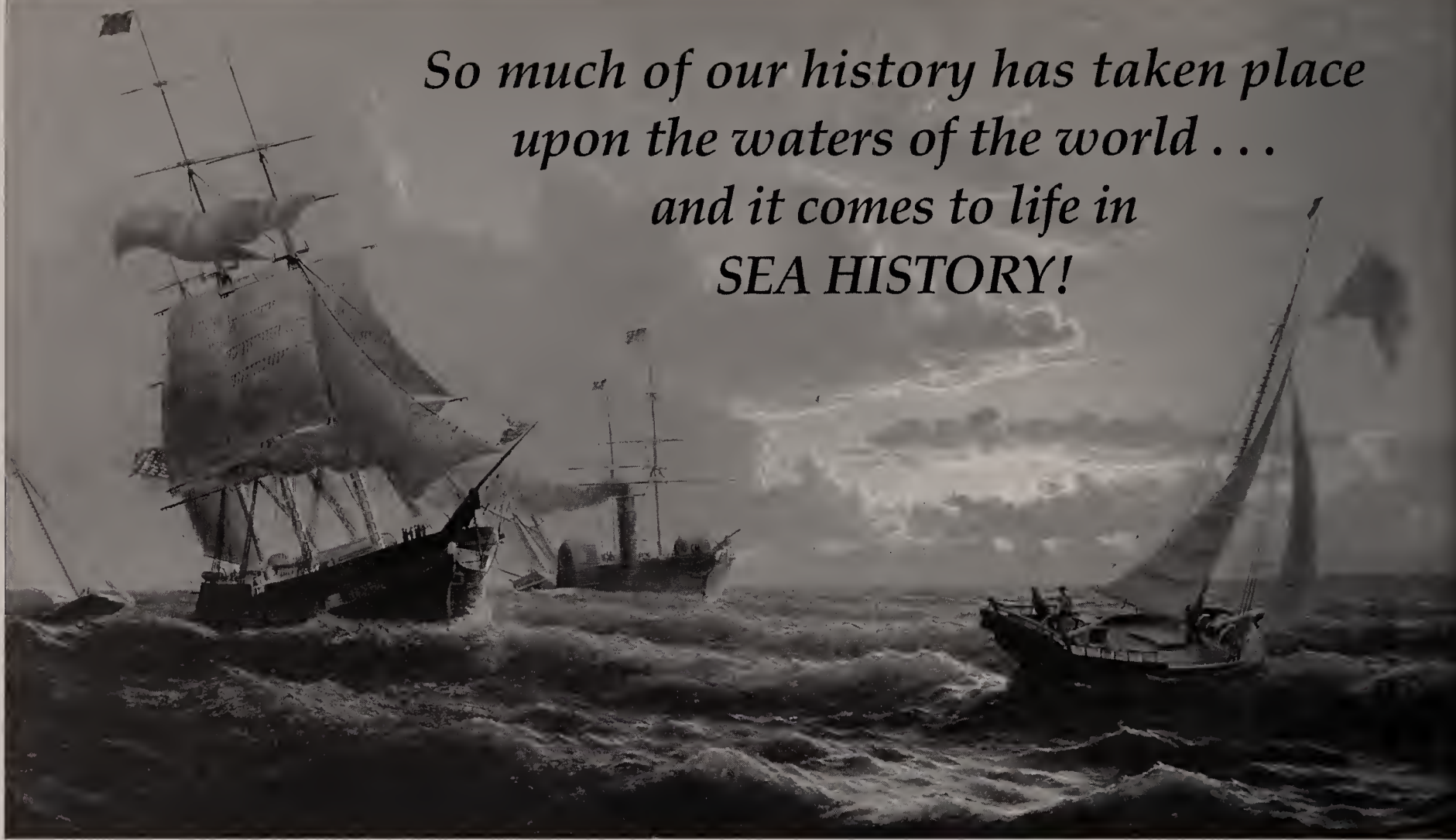
NOTES

1. Public Record Office, ADM 223/469, Godfrey to DNI, 14 June 1945. Hereafter, PRO.
2. Cf. Admiralty Historical Section, *Arctic Convoys, 1941–1945* (London, 1954); Paul Kemp, *Convoy! Drama in Arctic Waters* (London: 1993).
3. The revelation of the existence of *ultra* resulted in a number of people rushing into print and overstating the importance of code breaking in the naval war against the Germans, while ignoring other types of communications intelligence. This trend was checked by the publication of F. H. Hinsley, *British Intelligence in the Second World War* (London: 1979–1990). This is the British official history, giving an overview and mostly relating when and how the British government became aware of various German activities. Besides Hinsley's work, there are also a number of accounts, or general surveys, of the Battle of the Atlantic, such as Dan van der Vat, *The Atlantic Campaign: World War II's Great Struggle at Sea* (New York: 1988); John Terraine, *U-Boat War, 1916–1945* (New York: 1989); and Correlli Barnett, *Engage the Enemy More Closely: The Royal Navy in the Second World War* (London: 1991), which pass, although all too quickly, over the subject of communications intelligence. Another category includes David Kahn, *Seizing the Enigma: The Race to Break the German U-Boat Codes, 1939–1943* (Boston: 1991) and Ralph Bennett, *Behind the Battle: Intelligence in the War with Germany, 1939–45* (London: 1994), 168–201, which deal with code breaking and attempt, albeit in general terms, to assess the importance of communications intelligence in the war at sea. One of the few books which shows in any detail the actual role of communications intelligence in the Battle of the Atlantic is David Syrett, *The Defeat of the U-boats: The Battle of the Atlantic* (Columbia, S.C.: 1994). Moreover, all of the above books are basically about the fighting in the North Atlantic and deal only in passing, if at all, with battles along the convoy routes to north Russia. In fact, with the exception of the analysis of the intelligence failure, which resulted in the destruction of Convoy PQ 17, there are no studies in which communications intelligence documents are integrated with other historical materials relating to the Murmansk convoys.
4. Admiralty Historical Section, *Arctic Convoys*, 129.
5. T. H. Veil Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC), 481–485; Francis L. Loewenheim, Harold D. Langley, Manfred Jonas, eds., *Roosevelt and Churchill: Their Secret Wartime Correspondence* (London: 1975), 254–257, 323–324, 380–383.
6. S. W. Roskill, *The War at Sea, 1939–1945* 2 (London: 1954–1961), 290.
7. Jefferson Davis, Charles Bullfinch, John B. Quitman.
8. PRO, ADM 199/77, *Convoy JW 56A — Report of Proceedings by Senior Officer Local Escort*.
9. COMNAVEU to CNO, *Convoys JW 56A–JW 56B*, 22 Jan. 1944, 10th Fleet Convoy & Routing Files, Box 67, Naval Historical Center, Washington, D.C.; PRO, ADM 199/77, *Vice Admiral Commanding First Cruiser Squadron to Commander-in-Chief, Home Fleet, 1 February 1944*.
10. US cargo ships: *Penelope Barker*, Richard H. Alvey, William Tyler Page, Andrew G. Curtin, Charles Scribner, Thorstein Veblen, Woodbridge N. Ferris, Edwin L. Drake. British cargo ships: *Fort Slave*, *Empire Ploughman*, *Fort Bellingham*. Dutch cargo ship: *Aert Van Der Neer*. British tankers: *San Cirilo*, *San Adolfo*. Norwegian tanker: *Noreg*.
11. HMS *Hardy*, HMS *Savage*, HMS *Venus*, HMS *Offa*, HMS *Obdurate*, HMS *Inconstant*, HMS *Vigilant*, HMS *Virago*, HMS *Poppy*, HMS *Dianella*, HN or MS *Stord*.
12. PRO, ADM 199/77, *Vice Admiral Commanding First Cruiser Squadron to Commander-in-Chief, Home Fleet, 9 Feb. 1944*; List of Convoy JW 56A (Extension), 10th Fleet Convoy & Routing Files, Box 67, Naval Historical Center, Washington, DC.
13. PRO, ADM 223/171, "TIRPITZ" — State of Readiness: *U-boat Situation*, Week ending 3.1.44; *U-boat Situation*, Week ending 31.1.44; Roskill, *War at Sea* 3:1, 267.
14. *U-957*, *U-956*, *U-278*, *U-739*, *U-601*, *U-360*.
15. PRO, ADM 223/19, f. 78; National Archives, Record Group 457, "German Navy/U-boat Message Translations & Summaries," 02 Feb. 1941–09 July 1945, SRGN 001-49668, ff. 30757, 30811. Hereafter, SRGN.
16. *War Diary, Operations Division, German Naval Staff, 25 January 1944*. Microfilm edition of the English translation of this source; the original at the

- Naval Historical Center, Washington, DC This source states that JW 56A departed from Reykjavik on 20 January, which is clearly in error.
17. Hinsley, *British Intelligence* II, 553–554, 631–639; *British Intelligence* IV, 111, 193, 196.
 18. PRO, DEFE 3/726, intercepted 1304/13/1/44, decoded 0847/15/1/44; DEFE 3/379, intercepted 1749/25/1/44, decoded 0435/26/1/44.
 19. PRO, DEFE 3/728, intercepted 2157/21/1/44, decoded 0346/22/1/44; intercepted 2004/22/1/44, decoded 2305/23/1/44; intercepted 2337/23/1/44, decoded 0208/23/1/44; intercepted 1128/23/1/44, decoded 2129/23/1/44; intercepted 1738/24/1/44, decoded 1636/25/1/44.
 20. PRO, ADM 223/19, f. 78; SRGN, ff. 30629, 30792; Hinsley, *British Intelligence* II, 548.
 21. PRO, ADM 199/2027, *Analysis of Operations in the Vicinity of Convoys J. W. 56A, J. W. 56B and R. A. 56. January — February 1944*; DEF 3/379, intercepted 0231/25/1/44, decoded 0643/25/1/44; intercepted 1051/25/1/44, decoded 1403/25/1/44; intercepted 1257/25/1/44, decoded 0314/26/1/44; intercepted 1059/25/1/44, decoded 1359/25/1/44; SRGN ff. 30908, 30909.
 22. PRO, ADM 199/77, *Report of Proceedings—Operation F. W. Captain (D) Twenty Sixth Destroyer Flotilla to Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet, 10 Feb. 1944*; DEFE 3/379, intercepted 1534/25/1/44, decoded 0109/26/1/44.
 23. PRO, DEFE 3/379, intercepted 1522/25/1/44, decoded 0318/26/1/44.
 24. PRO, ADM 199/2027, *Analysis of Operations in the Vicinity of Convoys J. W. 56A, J. W. 56B and R.A. 56, January — February 1944*.
 25. SRGN f. 30994; PRO, ADM 199/77, *Narrative of Torpedoing of H.M.S. Obdurate*.
 26. PRO, DEFE 3/379, intercepted 1835/25/1/44, decoded 0401/26/1/44; intercepted 1941/25/1/44; intercepted 2330/25/1/44, decoded 0403/26/1/44.
 27. PRO, ADM 199/77, *Commanding Officer HMS Savage to Captain (D) Twenty Sixth Destroyer Flotilla, 27 Jan. 1944*; DEFE 3/379, intercepted 0132/26/1/44, decoded 0614/26/1/44.
 28. PRO, ADM 199/77, *Report of Proceedings* [HMS Offa] J. W. 56A, 12 January–27 January 1944; DEFE 3/379, intercepted 0452/26/1/44, decoded 0900/26/1/44; SRGN f. 31003; Jurgen Rohwer, *Axis Submarine Successes* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1983), 204.
 29. PRO, ADM 199/77, *Report of Proceedings—Operation F. W. Captain (D) Twenty-Sixth Destroyer Flotilla to Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet, 10 Feb. 1944*; DEFE, 3/379, intercepted n 1041/26/1/44, decoded 1910/27/1/44; intercepted 1231/26/1/44, decoded 2325/26/1/44; SRGN ff. 30980, 30989, 30997, 31007, 31023, 31033, 31035, 31041.
 30. PRO, DEFE 3/380, intercepted 1504/26/1/44, decoded 2248/27/1/44; SRGN ff. 31054, 31055, 31066.
 31. PRO, DEFE 3/380, intercepted 2056/26/1/44, decoded 0053/28/1/44; intercepted 2118/26/1/44, decoded 2120/27/1/44; intercepted 2241/26/1/44, decoded 23/28/1/44; intercepted 2337/26/1/44, decoded 0004/28/1/44.
 32. War Diary, Operations Division, German Naval Staff, 26 Jan. 1944.
 33. PRO, DEFE 3/380, intercepted 0045/27/1/44, decoded 0010/28/1/44; intercepted 0215/27/1/44, decoded 2306/27/1/44; DEFE 3/381, intercepted 0845/27/1/44, decoded 2338/27/1/44; SRGN ff. 31111, 31117, 31133, 31136, 31176.
 34. U-957, U-425, U-965. SRGN ff. 31156, 31159.
 35. U-956, U-472, U-716, U-314, U-601, U-737, U-739. PRO, DEFE 3/380, intercepted 1425/27/1/44, decoded 0300/28/1/44.
 36. PRO, DEFE 3/380, intercepted 1445/27/1/44, decoded 0250/28/1/44; intercepted 1324/28/1/44, decoded 0141/29/1/44; intercepted 1744/28/1/44, decoded 0542/29/1/44; intercepted 2137/28/1/44, decoded 0559/29/1/44.
 37. US cargo ships: *Charles Bulfinch, Abner Nash, Albert C. Ritchie, Charles A. Mackuster, Edward L. Grant, Henry Bacon, Henry Wynkoop, John H. B. Latrobe, Paul Hamilton Hayne, Robert Lowry, Samuel McIntyre, Winfred L. Smith, Willard Hall*. British cargo ships: *Empire Tourist, Fort Crevecoeur, Fort Norfolk*. COMNAVEU to CNO, Convoy JW 56A-JW 56B, 22 Jan. 1944, 10th Fleet Convoy & Routing Files, Box 67, Naval Historical Center, Washington, D.C.
 38. HMS *Westcott, HMS Wrestler, HMS Whitehall, HMS Cygnet, HMS Rhododendron, HMS Honey-suckle, HMS Oxlip, HMS Onyx, HMS Hydra, HMS Seagull*.
 39. HMS *Milne, HMS Musketeer, HMS Opportune, HMS Mahratta, HMCS Huron, HMS Scourge*.
 40. PRO, ADM 199/2027, *Analysis of the Operations in the Vicinity Convoys J. W. 56A, J. W. 56B and R. A. 56, January — February 1944*.
 41. PRO, ADM 199/2027, *Analysis of Operations in the Vicinity of Convoys J. W. 56A, J. W. 56B and R.A. 56, January — February 1944*; ADM 223/19, ff.80–81; DEFE 3/380, intercepted 1638/28/1/44, decoded 0431/28/1/44; intercepted 1744/28/1/44, decoded 0542/29/1/44; intercepted 1324/28/1/44, decoded 0542/29/1/44.
 42. PRO, ADM 199/77, *Operation FW — Passage of Convoy JW 56B*, Narrative ADM 223/19, f. 81; DEFE 3/380 intercepted 0934/29/1/44, decoded 1959/29/1/44; intercepted 0929/29/1/44; intercepted 1055/29/1/44, decoded 1502/29/1/44.
 43. PRO, ADM 199/2027, *Analysis of Operations in the Vicinity of Convoys J. W. 56A, J. W. 56B and R.A. 56, January — February 1944*.
 44. PRO, DEFE 3/380, intercepted 1531/29/29/1/44, decoded 2050/29/1/44; intercepted 1618/29/1/44, decoded 2135/29/1/44; intercepted 1647/29/1/44, decoded 2135/19/1/44; intercepted 1857/29/1/44, decoded 2209/29/1/44; intercepted 2032/29/1/44, decoded 2311/29/1/44.
 45. HMS *Hardy, HMS Savage, HMS Venus, HMS Offa, HMS Inconstant, HMS Vigilant, HMS Virago, HN or MS Stord*.

46. PRO, ADM 199/77, J. W. 56B. 28–31 January 1944; ADM 199/2027, *Analysis of Operations in the Vicinity of Convoys J. W. 56A, J. W. 56B and R.A. 56, January — February 1944*.
47. U-425, U-957, U-278, U-360.
48. PRO, ADM 223/19, f. 81.
49. PRO, ADM 199/2027, *Analysis of Operations in the Vicinity of Convoys J. W. 56A, J. W. 56B and R.A. 56, January — February 1944*; Rohwer, *Axis Submarine Successes*, 204.
50. PRO, ADM 199/77, *Operation FW — Passage of Convoy JW 56B, Narrative*; ADM 223/19, f. 82; DEF 3/381, intercepted 1210/30/1/44, decoded 0551/31/1/44; intercepted 1220/30/1/44, decoded [—].
51. PRO, ADM 199/2027, *Analysis of Operations in the Vicinity of Convoys J. W. 56A, J. W. 56B and R.A. 56, January — February 1944*; DEFE 3/381, intercepted 2000/30/1/44, decoded 0525/31/1/44; intercepted 2103/30/1/44, decoded 0445/31/1/44; intercepted 2223/30/1/44, decoded 0520/31/1/44.
52. PRO, DEFE 3/381, intercepted 2120/31/1/44, decoded 0741/31/1/44; intercepted 0537/31/1/44, decoded 1059/31/1/44; intercepted 0519/31/1/44, decoded 1217/31/1/44; intercepted 0828/31/1/44, decoded 1130/31/1/44; intercepted 0928/31/1/44, decoded 1438/31/1/44.
53. PRO, ADM 199/2027, *Analysis of Operations in the Vicinity of Convoys J. W. 56A, J. W. 56B and R.A. 56, January — February 1944*; DEFE 3/381, intercepted 2130/31/1/44, decoded 0118/1/2/44; intercepted 1817/31/1/44, decoded 0030/1/2/44; intercepted 2130/31/1/44, decoded 0118/1/2/44.
54. PRO, ADM 199/77, *Operation FW — Passage of Convoy JW 56B, Narrative*; DEF 3/381, intercepted 1549/1/2/44, decoded 0217/2/2/44; intercepted 1549/1/2/44, decoded 0217/2/2/44.
55. PRO, ADM 199/2027, *Analysis of Operations in the Vicinity of Convoys J. W. 56A, J. W. 56B and R. A. 56, January — February 1944*; DEFE 3/380, intercepted 1134/29/1/44, decoded 0141/30/1/44.
56. HMS *Milne*, HMS *Vigilant*, HMS *Mahratta*, HMS *Musketeer*, HMS *Offa*, HMS *Obdurate*, HMS *Venus*, HMS *Virago*, HMS *Savage*, HMS *Stork*, HMCS *Huron*, HMS *Matchless*, HMS *Opportune*, HMS *Scourge*, HMS *Cygnets*, HMS *Speedwell*, HMS *Hkyon*, HMS *Oxlip*, HMS *Poppy*, HMS *Inconstant*, HMS *Hussar*, HMS *Dearilla*. PRO, ADM 199/77, Mercantile Convoy No. RA 56.
57. U-956, U-957, U-425, U-427, U-313, U-716, U314, U-737, U-278, U-990.
58. PRO, ADM 199/77, Captain (D), 3rd Destroyer Flotilla to Commander-in-Chief, Home Fleet, 15 Feb. 1944; ADM 199/2027, *Analysis of Operations in the Vicinity of Convoys J. W. 56A, J. W. 56B and R. A. 56, January–February 1944*; DEFE 3/382, intercepted 1149/3/2/44, decoded 15/3/2/44; DEFE 3/383, intercepted 12/3/2/44, decoded 0004/4/2/44; intercepted 2050/4/2/44, decoded 0232/5/2/44; intercepted 2130/4/2/44, decoded 0249/5/2/44; intercepted 1848/6/2/44, decoded 2155/6/2/44.
59. HMS *Hardy* was sunk. HMS *Obdurate* was damaged. And the merchant ships *Penelope Barker*, *Fort Bellingham*, *Andrew G. Curtin* were sunk.
60. PRO, DEFE 3/382, intercepted 1850/1/2/44, decoded 0252/1/2/44.
61. For an account of detection devices employed by the Allies, see Norman Friedman, *Naval Radar* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1981); Willem Hackmann, *Seek & Strike: Sonar, Anti-Submarine War and the Royal Navy* (London: 1984); Kathleen Broome Williams, *Secret Weapon: U.S. High-Frequency Direction Finding and the Battle of the Atlantic* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996).
62. Syrett, *The Defeat of the U-Boats*.

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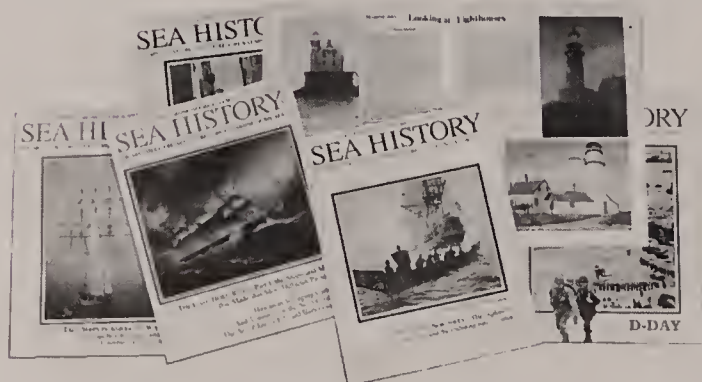
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ANNOUNCEMENTS

A NEW NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM IN GREENWICH, ENGLAND

In March 1999, a new National Maritime Museum will open in Greenwich. The center of the new museum will be a spectacular courtyard enclosed beneath an elegant glass roof. The architecture, which successfully fuses modern minimal lines with the existing neo-classical building, has been much discussed. What, however, is going on inside?

The scheme will provide over 5,000 square meters of display space distributed over twelve new galleries and a central courtyard. The imposing doorway in the grand north facade will become the museum's main entrance. As visitors step through the threshold, they will be greeted by the sound of the sea, recorded from various points around the coastline of Britain. In the entrance hall, a video wall will screen dramatic images of the world's oceans, reminding visitors of the power and beauty of the sea.

The new galleries are thematically arranged and use the museum's unique collections to illustrate our involvement with the sea over the centuries. The first suite of galleries is about exploration. They tell of the famous voyages of the sixteenth century, when, by papal decree, the world was divided between the Spanish, who swept west in search of gold, and the Portugese, who sought the spices of the Indies. The galleries also feature troublesome English adventurers, including Raleigh and Drake. Arctic exploration is a major theme: displays include both familiar icons, such as the Franklin relics, and some lesser known items, such as the jackstaff placed in the ice by James Clark Ross to mark the position of the North magnetic pole.

Another gallery, *Passengers*, takes a new look at the reasons why people cross the sea,

from mass migrations to America in the nineteenth century to the pleasure cruises of today. A model of the largest liner in the world, the new P&O ship *Grand Princess*, has been specifically commissioned for this gallery from the Italian yard that built the ship. Constructed to a 1:48 scale to match the other models on display in the gallery, it will also be the largest model in the collection at over six meters long.

Major subjects covered in other galleries include the rise and decline of the British maritime empire and its many cultural legacies, the importance of marine painting as a genre, and modern seaborne trade. Minor themes feature in smaller galleries. One, devoted to costume, has a video filmed aboard HMS *Monmouth*. This gallery looks at the influence of naval uniform on civilian fashion and manages to combine such diverse elements as a sailor suit that once belonged to a Prince of Wales and fashions from the designer Jean Paul Gaultier.

At the heart of the displays, and of the museum itself, are the collections. A new space has been created adjacent to the Library called the Collections Search Station, where visitors will be able to access images and information about those collections not on display. Resources for the Search Station will be developed on a continuous basis, even after the new museum opens.

The sea joins — and divides — the nations of the world. It is as important today as it ever was — a highway for trade, a resource to be conserved and exploited, a vital element for life on earth. The new National Maritime Museum will demonstrate the sea's relevance to all our lives and, perhaps more importantly, its importance to future generations in the third millennium.

**THE STORY OF TIME —
THE MILLENNIUM EXHIBITION AT THE
HOME OF TIME, OPENING 1 DECEMBER 1999**

As the final days of 1999 are counted down, the definitive Millennium exhibition will open at Greenwich — the home of world time. Housed in the seventeenth century Queen's House, part of the National Maritime Museum in the center of Greenwich Royal Park, *The Story of Time* is a truly international exhibition, bringing together approximately three hundred objects to present an all-encompassing history of time across the earth. The exhibition will open on 1 December 1999.

The Story of Time will open at a moment when, more than ever before, the behavior of the whole world is dictated by time. The exhibition aims to question people's perceptions of time and to reflect the many ways in which people and cultures throughout history have expressed their understanding of time.

The exhibition will present a powerful combination of art and science, displaying crucially important and often very famous artefacts loaned by the world's museums, libraries, and art galleries. Works by such artists as Titian, Poussin, and Dali have every chance of being displayed alongside a Navajo sand painting, Chinese incense burner, tenth century western manuscript, African mask, or a twentieth century photograph of starbirth.

The exhibition will be divided into five sections, each exploring a particular aspect of the story of time:

1. **The Creation of Time** — How did the world begin? Varied theories about the dawn of time are explored, including modern cosmology and the Big Bang theory, reflecting the universal desire to understand why we exist and how we came into being. By understanding a culture's mythology regarding creation, we can understand its attitude towards time.
2. **The Mechanics of Time** — How do we divide time and why has regulating and controlling time become such a widespread obsession? This section focuses upon the

methods used to divide, regulate, and measure time and explaining the progression of timekeepers, from simple sundials to the atomic clock.

3. **In the Eye of the Beholder** — How do you picture time? Visitors will learn how artists have depicted and personified time (e.g. Father Time, Chinese Longevity Gods) and time related phenomena. Included in this exhibit are seventeenth century *vanitas* paintings illustrating the transience of light, surrealist visions of timelessness and distorted time.
4. **Against the Clock** — How do we sense time and try to understand past, present, and future time? By exploring non-mechanical methods of time division, including human time (biological time patterns, the aging process, psychological time), time in music, and the human need to understand the past. The desire to break the relentless passing of time will be illustrated through myths of stopping or reversing time and the idea of time travel.
5. **Until the End of Time** — Does it end? A variety of artifacts relating to the idea of an end of time and of eternity will be on display, illustrating many people's refusal to believe in an absolute end of time and their ways of overcoming the fear of death. Images of the afterlife, of transcending time through memorials, meditation, and attaining immortality will leave visitors in a reflective mood as they leave the exhibition.

Dr. Kristen Lippincott, Director of the Greenwich Meridian 2000 Millennium Project, said: "By the time that visitors have seen *The Story of Time*, we hope that they will be surprised, if not a little disoriented, by the many, often peculiar, theories of time which we will present. We are hoping to make our visitors question the major role that time plays in their lives. By exploring different theories and types of time, we will attempt to show how obsession with time is not just a nineties phenomenon. The exhibition will also confirm the crucial role of Greenwich and, specifically, the Old Royal

Observatory in the beginning of the new millennium."

The Old Royal Observatory is home to the Prime Meridian of the world. In 1884, the International Meridian Treaty established that, legally, every new day begins at mean midnight

at the crosshairs of the Airy Transit Circle telescope at the Old Royal Observatory. The new millennium officially begins at this point at Greenwich, making the Old Royal Observatory the focal point for global celebration.



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Modeler's Notes

PAUL DUSTIN

THE NEW *FRIENDSHIP* OF SALEM

How many of us that build ship models for a hobby have been faced with the problem of what to do with a particular ship model, once it is finished, because it is too big for the house? In 1803 Capt. William Story of the East Indiaman *Friendship* was presented with a similar dilemma. He had been given a large model of his ship for his small son, but he soon realized that its size was greater than his parlor could accommodate. His solution was to donate the model to the then East India Marine Society, the present Peabody Essex Museum of Salem, Massachusetts, where the model can be seen in the "Port of Salem" exhibit. As ship models go, this one is indeed large, with dimensions of about ten feet in overall length and a height of eight feet from keel to the top of the main mast. She is a three masted "East Indiaman," a type of vessel once used for trading with the ports of India, Asia and the East Indies.

It was on a voyage of *Friendship* to Sumatra and China from 1802 to 1804 that the model was made by her Second Mate, Thomas Russell, and the ship's carpenter, J. Odell, for Captain Story's young son. John Frayler¹ of The National Park Service notes that Thomas Russell's family trade was that of ship's carpenter, and therefore the model was made by two men who had accurate knowledge of ship construction and rigging. Although they could not have known it at the time, their competence would be of great importance almost two hundred years later. The illustration accompanying this note is a photograph of the model taken of her outside of her large panoramic glass case. In the photograph, the most prominent features of the model are the guns on the main deck and the row of painted gun ports. It is not certain whether the painted ports were for a decorative purpose, or to give the appearance of a more heavily armed ship from a distance. The guns were cast by a

native metal worker at Palembang on the island of Sumatra.

This past September, a new *Friendship* arrived in the port of Salem, Massachusetts. She is a replica of the original vessel of 1797 which was built for Salem's expanding China trade, and from which the Peabody Essex Museum's model was made. Some of the present *Friendship*'s dimensions are: an overall length, from the bowsprit to the end of the spanker boom, of 171 feet, a hull length of 116 feet, and a breadth of 30 feet. Her height from the keel to the main deck is 20 feet at midships, and the top of her main mast will be 106 feet above the main deck. She plans to carry twenty-one sails with a working sail area of 9,409 sq. ft, plus additional stunsails. Her color scheme, however, is different from the museum's model, and shows her as she appears in a painting of *Friendship* executed by George Ropes in 1805, following repairs and minor alterations which were made after she returned from the 1804 voyage.

Since her arrival, *Friendship* has been sitting at a fitting-out dock awaiting the installation of her masts, spars, and rigging, a process that will likely take a year or more to complete. Her opening to the public is not expected until late 1999 or early in the year 2000, although the Park Service indicates that special group tours may be arranged in the interim. Meanwhile, a rigging shed has been constructed adjacent to the ship. Here visitors may watch her rigging being fabricated and set up by a rigging crew, members of which recently completed the rigging of the rebuilt USS *Constitution*. This activity in itself should be a fascinating process to observe, particularly for ship modelers who are used to smaller sizes and quantities. When she is completed, *Friendship* will be the only East Indiaman existing in America. It should also be noted that she will meet modern safety requirements for carrying passengers under sail.

The idea for having a fully rigged ship as a permanent exhibit at the Salem Maritime National Historic Site (NHS), a unit of The National Park Service, goes back to a master plan which was prepared in 1939. The thought then was to display a period ship of Salem's China trade era, the apex of which existed from 1790 to 1812. Funding for the *Friendship* project was



Ship model of *Friendship*. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA Negative No. 11787.

raised from public and private sources by The Salem Partnership, with additional funding from the National Park Service. When completed, she will be berthed and open for tours at Derby Wharf, a part of the Salem Maritime NHS. The career of *Friendship* alone would have made her a likely candidate for such an exhibit.

John Frayler tells me that there were no blueprints available for an East Indiaman when the Park Service project was started and, therefore, the availability of a model of one, notably the *Friendship* at the Peabody Essex Museum, was not only fortuitous, but assured that she would be the chosen vessel. As is well known, it is not at all uncommon to use models for visualizing a ship's hull form. In fact, half hull models were used expressly for this purpose. The caveat generally, though, was that one was

looking at a ship that had not yet been built. In the case of *Friendship*, the designers went back to the model to see what a particular vessel looked like two hundred years ago. The lines were taken off the model and used to prepare the working drawings. As John Frayler notes, the model having been built by competent builders at the time, provided a three dimensional link with the past for the replica *Friendship*'s modern builders.

There are, however, two notable differences between the current ship and the museum model. Initially as shown by the model, *Friendship* had been constructed with open bulwarks on the foredeck. Also, the model has a row of painted gunports set off by a wide white stripe. Neither of these configurations were incorporated into the current vessel. While being moved to another anchorage in Salem harbor

following the 1804 voyage, *Friendship* suffered some minor hull damage. During repairs, the forward bulwarks were filled in, and her color scheme was changed. These are reflected in the Ropes painting, and it is this color scheme and bulwarks configuration that have been incorporated into the present vessel. Careful inspection of the accompanying photograph will show the open bulwarks, most notably those on the port bow. It is also interesting to note that there are differences between the museum's citation of the model and the results of research done regarding her presumed year of donation to the East India Marine Society. Salem Custom House records show the voyage during which the model was made as extending from 1802 to 1804. Clearly then, the model was most likely donated subsequent to 1803 and probably late 1804 at the earliest.

If you should come to Salem to see the fitting out of *Friendship*, plan to stop by the museum's "Port of Salem" exhibit. While there, compare the two configurations of the vessel and the model. John notes that the current *Friendship* replica represents the ship extant in the 1805 configuration following the repairs. But on the model you will see the open bulwarks. The painting by Salem artist George Ropes (1788–1819) of *Friendship* hangs above

the open vault on the left after one enters the exhibit.

Notes

1. Much of the background material on *Friendship* of 1797 and her future plans was provided to me by John Frayler, Historian, Salem Maritime National Historic Site, and for his help and assistance I wish to thank him. He has done extensive research on *Friendship*, her history and voyages, a summary of which is contained in the pamphlet *Friendship, The World of a Salem East Indiaman, 1797–1813*. It is published by Eastern National, 1998, and is available from the Salem Visitor's Center of the National Park Service.
2. Consideration is currently being given by The Salem Maritime NHS to making a set of model plans of the present *Friendship* available to model builders. These would be produced from the builder's plans and are expected to be to a scale of 1/8 inch = 1 ft (1/96). The model would be of solid hull construction, and sufficient details would be provided for an average model builder to make a scratch-built, fully rigged model.

BOOK REVIEWS

ROBERT FOULKE, *The Sea Voyage Narrative*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997. xxv + 244 pages, illustrations, chronology, bibliographic essay, recommended reading section, index. ISBN 0-8057-0968-1. \$28.95.

In *The Sea Voyage Narrative*, part of Twayne's "Studies in Literary Themes and Genres" series, Robert Foulke discusses the significance of the genre from Homer to the present. He does not intend a complete or extensive survey, but rather concentrates on a few representative works while making references to a wide variety of others. Foulke begins with an essay on "The Nature of Voyaging" that demonstrates the range of his literary knowledge as well as his first-hand acquaintance with the sea and sailing. Always intent on linking real life sea experiences and historical contexts with their expressions in literature, he then discusses *The Odyssey* in terms of historical navigation of the Mediterranean. Foulke makes the Homeric epic, set in the context of the oral narrative tradition of sailors, come alive for contemporary readers.

The subsequent chapter, on voyages of discovery, focuses on the narratives of Columbus and Cook. Foulke considers the former in light of various strands of European thought of the time, particularly the works in Columbus' library, including the subjects of cartography and climate. The latter's voyages are seen as examples of the impulse to circumnavigate and to extend the commercial, imperialist, and scientific range of European interests. In both cases, Foulke provides clear readings of the narratives and interesting historical backgrounds on subjects ranging from shipbuilding to the discovery of the Great Barrier Reef.

In "The Sea Quest: *Moby-Dick* and *The Old Man and the Sea*," Foulke examines Melville's and Hemingway's expressions of the sea voy-

age, relating these two works to others of the period. Focusing on the pattern of the sea quest, he effectively relates the nautical material of two very different, if not opposing, works. He shows an unobtrusive awareness of previous critics and situates his own readings in their wake. The final two chapters continue his discussion of twentieth century sea novels. One chapter is devoted to Conrad's *The Nigger of the "Narcissus"* and focuses on his view of the sea and seamanship, including an extensive account of Conrad's very precise description of the righting of the *Narcissus*. The final chapter, in contrast, is a general overview of voyage narratives in the twentieth century, providing a brief, yet informative, sense of the continuing importance of the genre.

Meant as a basic reference work as much as literary criticism, *The Sea Voyage Narrative* includes a chronology of works in the genre, a bibliographic essay over each chapter, and an extensive list of recommended readings. Beginning scholars in the area, as well as those interested in literature of the sea, will find Foulke's book informative, interesting, and accurate.

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BASIL GREENHILL, CONSULTANT ED.; JULIAN MANNERING, ED., *The Chatham Directory of Inshore Craft: Traditional Vessels of the British Isles*. London: Chatham Publishing, 1997. 239 pages, maps, photographs, plans, lines drawings, bibliography, index. Distributed in North America by Mystic Seaport Museum Publications, Mystic, CT 06355-0990. ISBN 1-86176-029-9. \$60.00 + \$4.50 shipping and handling.

In the hundred years between 1820 and 1920, an extraordinarily wide range of workboat types evolved, flourished, then dwindled into oblivion along the coasts of the British Isles. It is this era which the curiously named *Chatham Directory of Inshore Craft: Traditional Vessels of the British Isles* addresses. The term "directory" implies a certain contemporaneity, as if one had but to look up a boat and its locale, then go off and see it. For the craft described in this volume, all of which have passed from view as working boats, it might have been more appropriate to call it a "chronicle," or even a "legacy," given the wealth of material it contains.

The volume begins with a short introduction by editor Julian Mannering which explains its genesis in the rich plan and photograph collections of the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. The book was intended to describe all of the boats built for a particular purpose in a particular region, and thus it excludes larger coastal craft such as schooners, whose design and employment were more widespread. Mannering situates the *Directory* in the context of earlier and now classic studies such as McKee's *Working Boats of Great Britain* and the works of Edgar March.

The introduction is followed by a more substantial essay by consulting editor and noted marine historian Basil Greenhill, entitled "Boats and Boatmen and Their Study." This is a cogent and thought provoking piece, and will surely become required reading for all students of watercraft history. Dr. Greenhill addresses the constituent influences on the evolution of a given watercraft form, and urges strongly that the purpose for which a boat was designed and built be kept uppermost when it is being studied. He writes at some length about the grinding toil and unrelenting poverty that was generally the lot of boatmen whose boats these were, and argues forcefully for a consideration of the social as well as technical circumstances of their evolution. He then provides a condensed history of the study of traditional watercraft in North America and Europe, and North American readers may find it interesting to hear a very European perspective on their work of

such well known figures as Howard Chapelle and John Gardner.

The body of the book is composed of eight chapters, each dealing with a particular region: Scotland, the English North Sea Coast, the Wash and Thames Estuary, the South Coast, the Coasts of Devon and Cornwall, Wales, the Northwest Coast, and Ireland. Each chapter begins with a short summary of the history, geography, and seafaring conditions of the region, followed by descriptions of its major boat types, each illustrated by one or more of line plans, construction plans and sections, and photographs. Each description ends with a note of the sources used in preparing it. A note on the general sources and a comprehensive index round out the text.

An extraordinary wealth of information is contained in this book, and great care has been taken to present it in an attractive and legible format. The photographs are, for the most part, stunning in their clarity and the wealth of detail they reveal. Most were taken from the 1930s through the 1960s, and show boats both in their working prime and near the end of their lives. Some shots are posed, some candid. Some are simply mesmerizing for the glimpse they provide into the lives of these boats and boatmen. Each illustration is credited with an institution, collection, and catalogue number, which will make the book very useful for researchers.

The photographs and essays, along with the book's price, are backed up by excellent line drawings, construction sections, and sail plans, which are the result of primary field work undertaken in the 1930s when these boats were still available to be recorded. North American readers will recognize some of the better known workboat types, such as Itchen ferry boats, Morecambe Bay prawners, Norfolk wherries, and the great and powerful Scots Zulus. Less familiar on this side of the Atlantic, but no less compelling for the degree to which they evolved to suit specific conditions of use, are craft like the Brighton hog boat and the St. Ives punt.

Some of the illustrations will simply stop you in your tracks. A photo of East Anglian beach yawls (page 61) is a study in masterfully

lined-off and executed lapstrake planking, while a deck view of the Brixham trawler *Compeer* (page 139) bears mute but eloquent witness to the size of the gear and the amount of sheer physical labor required to sail these boats.

The text is well and clearly written, and Mannering has done a good job editing the work of various contributors into a coherent whole. The descriptions of individual types are concise, often containing revealing contemporary quotations or descriptions. Following Greenhill's lead in the introduction essay, none of the authors lapses into romanticism or nostalgia about their subjects. For instance, the reader finds a photograph of Sheringham crabbers on a beach, paired with a line drawing, sail plan, and construction section (pages 66–67). A description of the boat's qualities ends by saying that, despite the fact that they were fast and weatherly, "They were, according to one source, a brute to sail." Such candor is refreshing.

Although the contributors are listed in the front matter, it is not always clear who wrote individual entries, and it might have been desirable to identify individual authors more closely with the text. This is but a minor quibble in what is otherwise an outstanding work which will surely become one of the principal references in this field.

JOHN SUMMERS

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JOE J. SIMMONS III, *Those Vulgar Tubes: External Sanitary Accommodations Aboard European Ships of the Fifteenth through Seventeenth Centuries*. Second Edition. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1997. xi + 97 pages, illustrations, table, notes, bibliography, index. Paperback. ISBN 0-89096-788-1 \$15.95.

This is an examination and analysis of the development of external accommodations in European ships for the disposal of human

wastes. Drawing upon archaeological published and illustrated sources, and extant ships such as the *Vasa*, Joe Simmons brings together all that can be ascertained about this vital but seldom mentioned necessity. The book's title is adapted from a poem entitled *A Sea Chaplain's Petition to the Lieutenant's in the Ward Room*, attributed to William Falconer. In it, the chaplain begs to be allowed to use the officers facilities instead of the downward projecting trunking used to direct human waste into the sea. While the main focus of the work is on the three centuries noted in the subtitle, the book contains information from as early as the seventeenth century BCE to 1870.

When ships acquired decks to improve their seaworthiness and to provide greater protection and comfort to those who sailed in them, the decrease in light and ventilation below created serious hygienic problems. To solve these, platforms were constructed at the bow and stern on which facilities were erected that emptied directly into the sea. Barrel-like attachments were used in the fifteenth century. External sanitary accommodations, known as garderobes, were borrowed from the architecture of castles. The forward area of the ship was the designated area for the common seamen. As a result, it was more crowded, and it received little attention in terms of health and comfort. The stern of the ship was the officers' area. Accommodations here were more comfortable, used by a smaller number of persons, and kept clean by members of the crew. Hygienic accommodation at the stern remained virtually unchanged throughout the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth centuries.

The seventeenth century saw four important hygienic developments. One was the emergence of individual sanitary facilities, known as seats of ease, that were placed in the structure of the beak or head of the ship and equipped with drainage sluices that carried the waste downward. Another was the fore turret, a light structure of French origin, which projected out from the ship's sides, and may have allowed interior access from the forecabin. A third was the roundhouses, or semi-cylindrical accommodations on either side of the beakhead bulkhead in

English ships for the use of petty officers, midshipmen, and mates. The fourth was the use of simple trough-like urinals, known as piss-dales, that were placed at various locations forward and amidships, and usually on the upper decks.

All these things helped, but as Simmons notes, in 1800 a first-rate ship, such as Nelson's *Victory*, had only six formal sanitary accommodations forward for a crew of approximately eight hundred men. All in all, *Those Vulgar Tubes* is an interesting little book on an important but neglected subject.

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ROGER MORRISS, *Cockburn and the British Navy in Transition: Admiral Sir George Cockburn 1772–1853*. Studies in Maritime History, William N. Still, Jr., ed. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1997. xiii + 338 pages, illustrations, maps, bibliography, notes, index. ISBN 1-57003-253-X. \$39.95.

Cockburn is commonly remembered as an aggressive commander in Britain's war with America, 1812 to 1814, the raider of Maryland and Washington, "The man who burned the White House," or as the conveyor of the defeated Napoleon to St. Helena and his first, harsh jailer there. To earlier historians of Britain's post-1815 navy, he was the arch conservative who blocked every reform the Whigs introduced, opposed every innovation, social and technical, and, because of his dominant position in the Admiralty as first naval lord, retarded nineteenth century modernization of naval materiel and administration.

Morriss argues that Cockburn's reputation, based on outdated biased secondary sources and partisan judgments, deserves reassessment. Cockburn was one of those enterprising, successful officers who helped to achieve Britain's naval supremacy by 1815. His background and early naval career were typical of the late

eighteenth century navy. Like all successful men, he had luck. He dealt with autocratic characters — Wellesley, Napoleon — without forfeiting their respect or compromising his dignity and professional opinion. Age and experience developed impressive administrative abilities exactly suited for his later civil career.

Morriss suggests reasons why the Whigs concentrated on naval reform in the late 1820s and early 1830s — revenge, frustration, an attack on a bastion of privilege and obstruction — and illustrates the opposition which Tory governments and naval administrators faced in a period when popular appeals for economy and the elimination of "corruption" promised the defeat of elitism and a new dawn of efficiency and meritocracy. Much of what Cockburn faced while at the Admiralty has a familiar contemporary ring: rationalization, reductions, "downsizing," and financial constraints, coupled with the desire of politicians to control remaining patronage.

The post-1832 Whig reforms imposed on the navy changed, but did not necessarily improve naval administration. Individual admiralty commissioners, overloaded with work by the abolition of subordinate boards, increasingly managed their areas of responsibility without consultation with their colleagues and heaped business on their subordinates who lacked responsibility. Cockburn's condemnation of these changes and his opposition to others, technological and social, has shaped his reputation, particularly since he refused to participate in public debate. Cockburn defended naval interests against what he saw as disruptive, destructive change for political motives. His integrity has been represented as reactionary arrogance. Morriss shows how one-sided this picture is. Cockburn saw the need to accommodate those who differed from him, as his willingness to serve as commander-in-chief on the North American station, 1832–1836, under a Whig government, testifies, but he consistently worked to retain experience while judging innovations on their merits and supporting those he thought beneficial. Cockburn's personal experience led him to believe in paternal relationships between officers and men, and he

knew the importance of patronage, connection, and similar cultural and social background in promoting an officer corps. Much of this contradicted contemporary ideas. Social reformers, financial experts, defense pundits, those with ability but little influence, condemned him.

Morriss declares two aims in this book: to reintegrate naval history, particularly of this period, into the mainstream of historical studies from which, he argues, it has been too long isolated, and to place the navy's transformation from sail to steam within the larger context of governmental and administrative changes after 1815. Using the life and career of "the most able administrative officer of his generation" (page xii), he examines the related themes of technological changes, alterations in the officer corps, and the management of seamen. He succeeds in all aims, in a thought provoking book which will stimulate reconsideration of Cockburn and the period after 1815.

Morriss has consulted an impressive range of primary sources. Particularly important are the Cockburn Papers in the Library of Congress. Maps are clear, although there are occasional misspellings — Aix, not Axis, roads, Valencay, not Valancay — and the index is in type small enough to require a magnifying glass for some readers. These are but quibbles in *Cockburn and the British Navy in Transition*, a major biography of a significant historical figure.

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MADELINE FERGUSON ALLEN, *Wake of the Invercauld: Shipwrecked in the sub-Antarctic, A Great-Granddaughter's Pilgrimage*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1997. 230 pages, illustrations, bibliography, appendices. Index. ISBN 0-7735-1688-3. \$45.00 Canadian.

With this impeccably researched and verified account of the shipwreck and survival of her great-grandfather, Robert Holding, author,

geographer, and teacher Madeline Ferguson Allen has provided a valuable addition to the body of authentic castaway literature. Her resolution in retracing Holding's story is well matched with her ancestor's energetic determination to survive his misfortune, which occurred in one of the least known and most wretched southern oceanic regions.

Throughout the 1800s, ships departing Australian ports for European and American destinations frequently headed down into the roaring forties below to ride prevailing westerlies and take the southern ocean's Great Circle Route to Cape Horn and beyond. Such passages were largely unimpeded, but a scattering of sub-Antarctic islands lie across this route in the "ferocious 50s" below New Zealand, including the wild and inhospitable Aucklands. This then poorly charted, uninhabited group took a savage toll on shipping throughout the years of sail, including Holding's ship, the *Invercauld*, which was wrecked on Auckland Island in May 1864.

Of the twenty-two men aboard, nineteen scrambled ashore from the wreck of the *Invercauld* to cling to rocks at the base of a near vertical cliff. Of these men, sixteen would die of accident, starvation, or exposure in the ensuing months. Only Captain George Delgarno and Mate Andrew Smith, both Scots, and the young English seaman Robert Holding survived to be rescued by a passing ship a year later, in May 1865.

Of all the complements of ships known to have gone ashore on the Aucklands in the 1800s, this was the highest of any castaway death toll. The losses reflected the facts that virtually nothing was salvaged from the *Invercauld*, the survivors struggling from the wreck without boots, warm clothing, or food, to land on one of the harshest locations imaginable, an icy, gale swept winter terrain which today still stubbornly denies shelter or comfort to even the best equipped modern adventurer.

One of the latter was author Allen, who, with her kin and friends, overcame all obstacles to charter a New Zealand vessel for passage to the Auckland Islands in her quest to check the veracity of her great-grandfather's account of his survival experiences. Although his account

was written many years after his rescue at the urging of his descendants, Allen found that Holding had near perfect recall. She records her search for traces of the *Invercauld*'s crew with both meticulous detail and constant reference to Holding's recollections — and with a naturalist's eye for the extraordinary environment in which she and her companions found themselves.

The *Wake of the Invercauld* weaves together the twin stories of Robert Holding's Auckland Island survival (and details of his youth in England as a gamekeeper's son, an upbringing which in no small way accounted for his skill in obtaining food when others failed or simply gave up), with Allen's search for knowledge of this member of her birth family of whom she had little awareness in her youth. Along the way, Allen was provided with a copy of Holding's manuscript. Armed with this extraordinary document, she and her husband took their search first to Scotland and England, following the many clues in Holding's notes and tracing source material relating to the *Invercauld* and her loss, until in 1993 and again in 1995 they made the long and difficult journey down through New Zealand to their final destination, the Auckland Islands.

The resulting account of their journeys and Holding's adventures is a rich and varied read about determined people in strange places, a fine mix of adventure yarns, character studies, ecological descriptions, and wildlife observations, set against the chilling background of the savage Auckland Islands — settled briefly in the early 1800s, then abandoned for all times. The *Wake of the Invercauld* is extensively and well illustrated with maps, photographs, and illustrations, and will make a most satisfying addition to the maritime literature collections of those with an abiding interest in the castaway experience, human survival skills, and the timeless challenge presented by a hostile environment.

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CATHERINE PETROSKI, *A Bride's Passage: Susan Hathorn's Year Under Sail*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997. 283 pages, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth. ISBN 1-55553-298-5. \$42.50. Paper. ISBN 1-55553-297-7. \$15.95.

Within a month of her September 1854 marriage to Captain Joseph (Jode) S. Hathorn, Susan Lennan Hathorn began her first and only voyage aboard her husband's bark, *J. J. Hathorn*. She and Jode departed from Philadelphia in mid-October and sailed first to Savannah, then on to Santiago, Trinidad de Cuba, London, Cardiff, then back to Savannah. Her 1855 diary includes numerous details of her daily life both at sea and in port. Its final entries record her involvement in family and community life in Richmond, where she returned for the birth of her first child.

Although Susan's diary does indeed focus on the nineteenth century feminine world, Catherine Petroski extends the narrative far beyond women's sphere as she recreates the nautical and commercial aspects of Jode's ocean world. Petroski, whose previous publications include award winning short stories, interweaves Susan's diary entries with an exploration of nineteenth century maritime life. She divides the book into twelve chapters, each named after a month. Although she employs a chronological approach, she also develops specific topics in each chapter. For example, the first chapter, "January," concludes with a description of the *J. J. Hathorn* based on its permanent enrollment in the national archives, and on its entry in *Lloyd's Registry of American and Foreign Shipping* (1862). In the "May" chapter, her thorough research provides the reader with numerous details of the London dock area and American Square, where Susan and Jode boarded during their sixteen-day stay in London. As she does for other ports to which the Hathorns sailed, Petroski includes nineteenth century London maps and sketches that add to the reader's understanding of the period.

In addition to the antique maps and sketches of the various ports, Petroski has also drafted five maps that chart the *Hathorn*'s 1855 voy-

ages. Period photographs and reproductions of documents, such as crew lists, a coastwise manifest, and pages from Susan's diary, further enhance the text.

Susan's diary concludes with her return to her in-laws' home in Richmond, where she awaited the birth of her first child. In the last three chapters, Petroski again takes the reader beyond the family and social contacts that fill Susan Lennan Hathorn's diary. Whereas the book's introduction concentrates on the farming Lennans' genealogy and economic circumstances, the final chapters focus on the sailing Hathorns and the shipbuilding Southards, two of the most prominent Richmond families. Although each family would venture into the other's commercial domain — the Hathorns built nine ships and some Southard relatives went to sea — the varied Southard business enterprises brought them more wealth. Petroski, in providing information about the three families, increases the reader's knowledge of a small nineteenth century maritime community's economic and social diversity.

In the final chapter, "December," Petroski continues the Hathorn story beyond Susan's 31 December 1855 diary entry. Using information garnered from gravestone inscriptions, old newspaper clippings, and *Shipping and Commercial List* announcements, she records the fates of Jode Hathorn, who died in Cuba in May 1856, the infant daughter he never saw and who lived only two years, and Susan, who remarried and lived until 1906.

Numerous explanatory endnotes and eight appendices further enrich the reader's comprehension of the era. Included are a letter and essay written by Susan while she was a Mount Holyoke Seminary student. Petroski also provides detailed lists of Susan's sewing projects and her personal account book. Many *American Neptune* readers will be especially interested in the coordinates list for the *Hathorn's* 1855 voyages.

Susan Hathorn's experiences as recorded in her diary are much like the daily events often described by other nineteenth century sea captains' wives. Her entries have few surprises for those aware of similar diaries. Catherine Pe-

troski, however, has pursued all the clues and expanded Susan's and Jode's world beyond Richmond and the *Hathorn's* decks and after-cabin. *A Bride's Passage* is a book that will appeal to a varied readership.

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BRIAN VALE, *Independence or Death! British Sailors and Brazilian Independence, 1822–1825*. New York: I. B. Tauris/British Academic Press, 1996. ISBN 1 86064 060 5. No price given.

Naval power was critical to the success of the Brazilian revolt against Portuguese rule. Using a variety of men-of-war, more often than not commanded by British naval officers on half pay, an interposition between Portuguese resupply across the Atlantic and besieged Portuguese forces ashore prevented ongoing resistance to the patriots. Similarly, in another lesson of sea power, Brazilian naval forces moved military forces along the coast when and where required, constantly putting the opponent on the defensive and the disadvantage. Brian Vale tells his story with assurance. He knows his sources both British and Brazilian, and he employs hitherto unused documentation. His command of both languages has proven a real aid to him in this task, and the text shows great balance of treatment (and a ready ease of presentation that comes from an old Brazilian hand).

The centerpiece of *Independence or Death!* is Lord Cochrane, famed British naval captain in the Napoleonic War and Chilean Revolution. Cochrane had a great organizational ability to go with his fighting zeal, and he had a tendency to spend a great deal of money to meet his military ends. He seems to have been at odds with his employers several times, at one time virtually laying down tools to get his way — which he always did. He comes forth in this book as an admirable leader for the day and for the circumstances. The book features many

another British captain or lieutenant — John Taylor, George Broom and John Grenfell among them, many enjoying long careers in Brazilian service.

This is a well illustrated and detailed book, exploring but four years of Brazil's naval heritage. These were central years, and Vale's book will always be central to understanding the complexity of the struggle and its influences on both contestants.

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W. H. BUNTING, *A Day's Work: A Sampler of Historic Maine Photographs*. Gardner, Me.: Tilbury House, 1997. vii + 379 pages, 334 illustrations, afterword, credits and notes, index. Paper, 8½ x 10¾. ISBN 0-8848-189-1. \$35.00.

Persons interested in the myriad aspects of Maine's culture, economic structure, and technological growth during the 1860–1920 era, with an emphasis on its maritime heritage, will find this volume's over three hundred vintage photographs and accompanying text of great interest and value.

W. H. Bunting possesses an encyclopedic knowledge. His extended captions, investigating the endless details of a ship's deck and rigging, the grist mill's interior, or the site of a riverside lumber mill, lead the reader to wander his or her eye endlessly over each illustration. The fine quality of the reproductions adds to the visual enjoyment.

Mr. Bunting acknowledges that his love of maritime history may weigh the volume a little heavier toward that subject, but this is not objectionable since so many other subjects are touched upon: logging camps and log drives, fishing, farming, animal husbandry, and the countless manifestations of rural life and encroaching industrialization that were trying to coexist in Maine from the time of the Civil War to the end of World War I. He has labored over this compilation for twenty years (with inter-

ruptions), and this book is only the first of two; the second will touch upon other subjects, such as pulp and paper manufacturing and textile mills, not covered in the first book.

The problem with pressing so many visual images and so much allied information is that all the data cries out for an organizational structure. Mr. Bunting gives a sincere plea in his introduction for his free flowing presentation, but it works only if the reader's mind can handle the jumping to and fro from one unrelated photograph to another.

He does indeed place the activity depicted in the photograph within the economic framework for that industry, whether it be the marketplace for sardines, the pros and cons of oxen versus horses, or fluctuations of the market for spruce and pine from the Maine woods. Since he says he is presenting an "economic history" and trying to "engage the curiosity of the general public" in that subject, what is lacking is a linkage of the various individual economies. The book speaks of the "great flowering of technological wonders" which affected Maine during the time frame being studied, but it makes little attempt to explain how industrialization — and the resultant ebb and flow of different vocations — changed the predominantly rural state. To give a few examples, small, self sufficient local industries, selling to a fairly restricted regional market, were seriously impacted by the arrival of the railroad. Steam power changed the life of everyone associated with the sea, from men who caught sardines to major ship owners who dealt in international commerce. Electricity killed off the ice harvesting business, and concrete mortar finished off the lime quarries. How did the rise and fall of each economy affect the overall economic health of Maine folk, both rural and urban? Who profited, who lost, and why?

At one point, Bunting makes the observation that French-Canadians made good foundrymen, but otherwise he makes little attempt to investigate the arrival of different nationalities, who greatly changed Maine life and its economy. For example, there survive wonderful photographs of the slate mines and cutting sheds in Monson, yet they are not included, and

there is no discussion of the Swedes, Finns, and Welsh who came to work in this industry. It would have been helpful if Bunting had tied together some of the rich and fascinating tidbits of information in his captions for a postwar essay.

He admits that friends suggested "some historical overview," but he explains the lack of such text by admitting the photographs are his primary "life-long fascination." In other words, he is saying he so loved the search for the illusive images and went to such trouble to reproduce them that he prefers to let the reader fondle and caress them as he did.

Bunting gives the impression that "even somewhat after" the Civil War, the machine tool industry remained "primitive" (page 104). He fails to acknowledge the contributions of the Robbins, Kendall, and Lawrence Co. of Windsor, Vermont, and its successor firms, in developing by the early 1840s what became known as the American System: the total interchangeability of parts for firearms (later extended to many manufacturing uses). If Maine's machine tool industry was "primitive" in contrast to the rest of New England, he should explain why.

Bunting was not well served by his designer; *A Day's Work* "feels" dense. The captions are long and set in small 10 or 11 point type, unrelieved by subheads or typographical devices. Every left page is solid text, every right page solid illustration for over 350 pages. The typographical errors are also annoying. However, the books' many virtues outweigh these minor objections. The illustrations are a joy, the subject matter diverse, and the text is chock full of tantalizing information. We look forward to Volume 2.

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WAYNE M. O'LEARY, *Maine Sea Fisheries; The Rise and Fall of a Native Industry, 1830–1890*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996. xii + 391 pages, illustrations, appendices, selected bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth. \$24.95 paper.

In *Maine Sea Fisheries*, Wayne O'Leary has rectified a longstanding scholarly void and, at the same time, given American maritime historians significant bearings for a topic that will increasingly consume their time. In short, he has produced a book that finally provides fisheries history with alternatives to both overly romantic portrayals of the occupation and unidimensional policy studies that do not illuminate the in-depth context that renders the occupation compelling from the first glance. Instead, there is a reflective tone in O'Leary's narrative that not only takes stock of the economic, social, cultural, and environmental legacy of this industry, but nods to the lack of methodological and interpretive examples that have impeded the growth of North American fisheries history.

Because fisheries activity is so environmentally bounded and diverse, it is, by extension, profoundly local and regional in its most immediate effects. The challenge confronting fisheries historians is how contextually to connect these settings to the industry's widely contingent economic systems, social networks, and ecological frameworks. Combining the insights of a social/economic historian and geographer, O'Leary begins by describing the environmental context (available target species), capital investment, and demographic patterns that made sea fisheries one of the only viable pursuits for those who inhabited this region prior to the Civil War.

The sea fisheries in Maine (1830–1865) were, in relative terms, an economically democratic pursuit, and O'Leary works from this premise to show the industry's relevance on a wider national stage. In this regard, his discussion places Maine's fish products at the heart of nineteenth century national concern with how to affordably feed working class, immigrant, and slave populations, and a national debate over the efficacy of maintaining federally-mandated fishing bounties to insure the survival of the state's cod fisheries. While considering the latter policy debate, O'Leary subtly dissects its most human elements — providing a level of economic support for those engaged in the always challenging salt-dried cod fishery in one

of the most austere regions of the country — and its more ideological intentions — insuring an ample supply of able mariners who might be needed for national defense (the concept of the naval nursery).

The financial risk and physical hardship — indeed, outright danger of fisheries activity — has continually fascinated those interested in maritime history. The difficulty has been in showing how these particular occupational variables foster a particular industrial/ occupational identity that is not only germane to nineteenth century economic development, but to a unique worker culture as well. Chronicling the fortunes and disappointments of Maine's fishing economy from the 1830s to the 1890s could have read like many traditional historical narratives. O'Leary avoids this tendency. His ethnographic sensibility — whether detailing Maine's early dominance of the American cod fishery, identifying principal markets, describing the use of hand lines or the arduous task of hauling mackerel in purse seines, or explaining the eclipse of the state's fishing role by Gloucester's irrepressible modernizing activity — enables his reader to appreciate more markedly the manner in which economics and culture defined this industry.

The topics of O'Leary's work that will resonate most forcefully with readers interested in social and environmental history concern the changes in capital and technology that swept Maine's fisheries in the later nineteenth century. Both the elimination of bounties and an economy premised on greater volume harvests (a situation requiring new, more costly technologies) meant that small, independent, and family-oriented fishing arrangements would be hard pressed to survive. Maine's sea fisheries became increasingly the domain of merchant financing and control — a scenario that was hardly unique to Maine, but one, as O'Leary shows, that significantly transformed this segment of the state's economy. Even with these changes, Maine's sea fisheries would succumb to Massachusetts' more modern fleet, better wharf facilities and railroad networks, available marine insurance, and social welfare services. A resurgence in Nova Scotia's fisher-

ies and changes in the American diet were the final blow to Maine's nineteenth century sea fisheries — a chapter that facilitated the reshaping of the industry to those inshore activities, such as lobstering, which are apparent today.

O'Leary's work is highly commendable. Indeed, shows just how far maritime history scholarship can go in addressing some of the most important emerging issues in historical, cultural, and environmental research. He reveals that fisheries history demands an integrated command of a variety of source materials. In this regard, he has followed in the wake of his earlier book, *The Tancook Schooners*, showing that there is no substitute for having an in-depth knowledge of the material culture and technology of the fishing industry. O'Leary's method and insights have established a new precedent for American fisheries history — one that will serve the field regionally, nationally, and internationally.

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EARLE B. YOUNG, *Galveston and the Great West*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1997. 232 pages, illustrations, bibliography, index. ISBN 0-89096-773-3. \$32.95.

Local history can be unduly narrow in focus and of interest only to persons within a 25-mile radius when it concentrates on parochial minutiae of a city or region without placing the events it describes in a larger context. Happily, Earle Young's treatment of the development of Galveston as a major port is a welcome exception as he carefully balances local events with major trends in American maritime, economic, technological, and political history from the end of the Civil War to 1900.

Galveston and the Great West describes the Texas Gulf port's rise from economic ruin in 1865 to prominence by the turn of the century. As he carefully illustrates, credit for this renaissance must be assigned to local leaders who

refused to accept Galveston's secondary economic status and set out to do something about it; to new technologies, such as those listed in the jetties constructed to overcome the problem of the shallow Outer Bar that precluded ocean-going vessels from entering the harbor; to state and national leaders who realized that river and harbor improvements were a national responsibility and worked to assure that enabling legislation was forthcoming from Congress; to economic leaders, including railroad magnates such as Jay Gould and Collis P. Huntington, who envisioned considerable savings by providing a Gulf port for the shipment of agricultural goods to eastern and foreign markets; and to business and transportation leaders in such cities as Denver, Omaha, and Topeka who joined with Galvestonians and other Texans to assure a deepwater port for the Island City.

In the process of telling his story, Young makes clear that technological improvements both on land and water were keys to the economic success of the United States during the post-Civil War era, and that the melodramatic story of the South mired in poverty and self pity is simply not true. It was the foresight and activism of men both in and out of government — and in and out of the South — that were key ingredients in the nation's economic growth during that period, not simply *laissez faire* acquisitiveness and the robber barons. While concentrating on the engineering of those decades, Young reminds his readers that maritime access and favorable government policies were both keys to wealth, not only for Galveston, but also for the great stretch of land between the Appalachians and the Rockies, earlier rugged individualism having given way to pragmatic reliance on government help and largesse.

Despite its strengths, three faults in the book — one minor, two major — must be pointed out. First, the Sault Ste. Marie channel runs between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, not between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan (page 167). Of greater importance, the book could have been strengthened considerably by the inclusion of maps of Galveston and the harbor. Galvestonians may be well aware of where the

various points mentioned are or were, but readers beyond that 25-mile radius probably do not. Third, Young would have been well advised to expand his epilogue beyond telling of the destructive force of the hurricane of 1900 to give his readers at least a thumbnail sketch of the history of maritime Galveston since 1900, in particular, the effects of the port on such further developments as the Houston Ship Canal.

This having been said, *Galveston and the Great West* remains a notable exception to myopic local history and a worthwhile addition to any maritime or university collection.

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PETER ALLINGTON AND BASIL GREENHILL, *The First Atlantic Liners: Seamanship in the Age of Paddle Wheel, Sail and Screw*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1997. vii + 167 pages, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$35.00.

Ships and the seamanship to operate them evolved dramatically over the course of the nineteenth century, especially with the introduction of steam power plants. However, for much of the century, steam engines simply were not reliable or powerful enough to replace sails. This created what Peter Allington and Basil Greenhill call the Riddle of the Day: "How best to make these two sources of motive power, wind and steam, complement each other" (page 5). Their chronicle of the quest for the answer, *The First Atlantic Liners*, offers an impressively detailed look at efforts to solve the riddle.

The book devotes most of its pages to oceangoing, paddlewheel steamers, especially the *Great Western*, whose 1838 voyage across the Atlantic signaled the start of a new era. In exhaustive detail, Allington and Greenhill analyze the impact of the new technology on construction and seamanship. They then consider the evolution of that technology over time, particularly the transition from paddlewheel to

screw, but always maintain their focus on dual propulsion commercial steamships. The discussion begins with an overall assessment of the relationship between sail assist and steam assist, pointing out the practical limits of each mode of propulsion when operating in conjunction with the other and describing the general seaworthiness of a hybrid vessel. It then gets more specialized, with chapters devoted to hull shape and stability, the engines and boilers, paddlewheels, masting, rigging and sails, navigation, and how these vessels handled under power. Herein lies the strength of the book. These individual chapters provide a wealth of technical information about each subject, supported by both the authors' expertise and a variety of contemporary accounts. This is not a book for the casual reader; those with a less than perfect understanding of the mechanics of a sailing ship will at times require reference to a nautical dictionary, a problem that could have been solved with a basic glossary.

Despite its unquestionable contribution to our greater understanding of the era, *The First Atlantic Liners* suffers from some minor flaws. Because Allington and Greenhill live and work in England, and therefore have ready access to British sources, the narrative shows a decided bias toward that country's ships and technology. Their focus has some merit, for Great Britain clearly led the way when it came to developing steamship technology during the first half of the nineteenth century. However, both France and the United States also experimented with the same technology for the same reasons at the same time. Allington and Greenhill occasionally mention these efforts, but never in a way that suggests positive contributions to the problem of conquering the Atlantic passage in a commercially cost effective way. For example, no mention is made of American government mail subsidies for private steamship companies like the Collins Line and the technical issues associated with providing that service. At best, there are sporadic references to American naval developments and anomalies like the Hunter wheel, certainly not what one might expect from a book on this subject. American readers will benefit from the overall

quality of this work, but they will have to do some of their own legwork in applying the information gleaned to American steamships.

The First Atlantic Liners is filled with a wealth of technical information, with Allington and Greenhill bringing all of their knowledge of the subject to bear, both practical and academic. However, there are sections where the detail detracts from the larger book. In their efforts to offer as complete an explanation as possible in a given subject area, they periodically lose their focus, leaving the reader to wonder where the narrative is going and what bearing it has on the larger questions at hand. At times, it is difficult to discern a clear evolutionary path in terms of technical development. A more integrated thesis would have made this a much easier book to read.

This is not a book for the faint of heart or peripherally interested, but that does not diminish its overall quality. Those looking for a detailed explanation of the mechanical and logistical issues in designing and operating practical transatlantic steamships during the nineteenth century need look no further.

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JOHN A. BUTLER, *Sailing on Friday: The Perilous Voyage of America's Merchant Marine*. Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1997. 287 pages, illustrations, bibliography, index. ISBN 1-57488-124-8. \$27.95.

In his montage of America's merchant marine, John Butler paints the ebb and flow of sea transportation from the perspectives of shipowners, managers, architects, seamen, and innovators. Intentionally avoiding the familiar economic-statistical analysis of the industry's fortunes, the names of Sturme, Lawrence, Whitehurst, Goss, et al. give place to Derby, Crowninshield, Train, Vanderbilt, Furuseth, and compatriots. Nonetheless, the tale cast in human experience confirms the inductive corollar-

ies of economists and statisticians — as quality scholarship will, irrespective of the research methodology.

From wooden hull to iron or steel, sail power to steam or diesel on the seas and inland waters, mercantile shipping developed primarily as private enterprise. Individual entrepreneurs and families invested capital in exporting and importing cargoes over little-known ocean routes. Loss of one or two ships likely meant financial disaster. Limited liability corporations later supplanted personal enterprise. The text incorporates an ample number of episodes on the hazards of both organizational forms. In addition, since risks at sea involve more than sturdy ships, Butler interweaves the evolution of navigation aids (including GPS, Loran, and radar), improving charting, communications, and damage control. The technical discussion enhances reader interest.

If monetary risk to crew members was minimal, they shared risks to life and limb, exacerbated by abysmal working conditions. Ineluctably, the miasma inspired a search for counterbalancing institutions and protection of law. Unions proliferated: International Workingmen's Association and the Coast Seamen's Union (affiliated by Andrew Furuseth) on the West Coast; independent organizations of firemen, sailors, cooks, stewards, longshoremen, and teamsters; the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots; Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and Joe Curran's National Maritime Union, reflecting socialist and communist ideologies. East Coast unions tended to affiliate with CIO, and the West Coast with AFL. Internecine warfare extended to employers and rival unions. Congress passed the La Follette Seamen's Act in 1915 and the Wagner Act in 1936. Wages four times that of foreign crews marked the denouement as union membership and the number of US flag vessels declined through the mid-1990s.

Appropriate attention is accorded to Federal legislative support of the mercantile marine by cabotage, mail subsidies, cargo preference, construction, and preferential subsidies. The precedent setting Shipping Act of 1916, for

example, created the US Shipping Board endowed with \$50 million to subsidize a merchant fleet in partnership with commercial shipowners. The Emergency Fleet Corporation, a Shipping Board subsidiary, managed by Charles Schwab (owner and CEO of Bethlehem Steel) was empowered to build and operate 2,382 ships for delivery within eighteen months. The resulting glut from war production and confiscation of German vessels stimulated corporate purchases and leasing of government ships. American President Lines and American Export Lines purchased and leased Shipping Board vessels. The United States Lines, managing operators for the Board, was formed from Morgan's American Line, a subsidiary of his International Mercantile Marine, to reemerge in 1967 as United States Lines, Inc., owners of the SS *United States*. Nonetheless, the 1916 Act and subsequent legislation did not abort the erosion of America's maritime standing. Presently, there are fewer than three hundred American flag vessels. Yet American shipowners, flying Flags of Convenience, move cargo worldwide.

Butler deliberately eschews annotation and paints with a broad brush. His purpose "is to make history attractive" (page xii). In doing so, he displays his erudition and personal involvement in the industry, supported by reference to the careers of numerous ships. Albeit non-statistical in approach, the variety of subtopics covered offer a startling point for the development of individual hypotheses. *Sailing on Friday* merits a place in any maritime library.

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John Clark is the co-author of "The Evolution and Demise of the United States Lines, Inc." on page 353 of this volume.



BRIAN J. CUDAHY, *Around Manhattan Island and Other Maritime Tales of New York*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1997. xii + 258 pages, illustrations, endnotes, appendices, index. ISBN 0-8232-1760-4. \$35.00 hardcover. \$16.00 paper.

Around Manhattan Island and Other Maritime Tales of New York is composed of six separate stories involving separate maritime subjects which directly or indirectly pertain to New York's waterfront. In his introduction, Brian Cudahy does not profess that the six subjects are of paramount importance to New York's port development. Instead, he has chosen them for their general reader interest and because, by his words, he believes they are deserving of the telling.

The first chapter, "Around Manhattan Island," is a discussion of the Circle Line and its competitor, the Hudson River Day Line. Cudahy starts out by giving us the early history of sightseeing aboard around-Manhattan steamboats. The history of the Circle Line, inaugurated in 1945, particularly intrigued me in that the company's postwar success centered around converted World War II naval LCIs and retired Coast Guard cutters. Cudahy thoughtfully includes an appendix which documents the past histories of these former military vessels of the various New York sightseeing fleets.

Chapter Two relates the winning of the North Atlantic Blue Riband by what became the Port of New York based SS *United States*. Chapter Three covers the "Fireboats of New York," giving, in addition to details of each fireboat, some of the major conflagrations which they successfully battled. Chapter Four, entitled "Down the Bay to Coney Island," describes another New York line, the Iron Steamboat Company, which had its beginning in 1880 and which through bankruptcy went under the auctioneer's gavel in 1933. Chapter Five covers the loss by explosion of the steamship *Observation* near Hell's Gate on the East River. Although in no way comparable to the high death loss of the *General Slocum*, The destruction of the *Observation* (which resulted in 72 known deaths) was noteworthy, since part

of the blame was leveled at the inadequacy of a "recent survey" by the Steamboat Inspection Service.

For his final chapter, Cudahy has chosen as his subject "New York to Bermuda by Sea." This mainly tourist trade was first instituted by the Quebec Steamship Company in 1874. Carried on over the years by the Furness Bermuda Line and by Furness' various subsidiaries, the trade was rudely interrupted by the coming of World War II. Furness continued a limited service during the war years, but this was for the support of Bermuda's infrastructure, including military base requirements, and had little, if anything, to do with recreational tourism. Following the war, business was nowhere near what it had been in the past, but picked up again by the early 1950s, mainly because of the development of Caribbean cruises, some of which included Bermuda as a stopover port. The attraction of Bermuda as a port-of-call for cruise ships continues today, but Furness is no longer a player. Sad to say, the Port of New York is no longer the base it used to be for cruise ship operations.

Written in what can be described as essay style, this book can be enjoyed at will on a separate chapter-by-chapter basis, each subject having little continuity with those before or following. If you are a fan of New York City's maritime scene, by all means you will want to add this readable book to your library.

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THOMAS R. HEINRICH, *Ships for the Seven Seas: Philadelphia Shipbuilding in the Age of Industrial Capitalism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1997. x + 290 pages, illustrations, tables, notes, essays on sources, index. ISBN 0-8018-5387-7. \$39.95.

The history of American shipbuilding has always been difficult to chronicle. With the introduction of iron and steam engineering to the industry, ships came to be the largest ma-

chines devised by mankind. They included not only hulls, but innumerable pipes and fixtures, interior finish work and complex marine propulsion systems. By the late nineteenth century, the increased size of steamships had encouraged the growth of immense shipyards employing legions of specialized workers. Thomas R. Heinrich incorporates this complex industry's social, economic, and technical history into one book.

As the setting for his work, Heinrich has selected a city which has always been the industrial center of the Delaware Valley, the region where iron shipbuilding first established itself in the United States. Based on industry records, government archives and the papers of one of America's better documented shipyards, the Cramp Shipbuilding Company, Heinrich shows how Philadelphia's shipbuilding community came to depend upon orders for merchant ships and naval vessels.

Proprietary capitalism and the emergence of industrial capitalism in the shipbuilding industry supply the dominant themes of this book. Heinrich contrasts the proprietary nature of Philadelphia's shipyards with the corporate shipping firms that purchased their goods. Proprietary capitalism affords the best perspective for studying nineteenth century shipbuilding firms, since nearly all of them were owned and managed by an individual, family, or partnership. Even more critical to Heinrich's study is the role of state sponsorship in encouraging industrial capitalism. He demonstrates how the federal government spurred the industry's growth through naval contracts during the Civil War and in the decades leading up to World War I. Warship construction provided Cramp with prosperity at a time when the demand for commercial steamships remained weak. Warship construction also forced Cramp to concentrate its resources on naval technology, thereby impairing the firm's ability to build merchant vessels. Specialization in naval shipbuilding, along with nonexistent government shipping subsidies and poor money management, led to Cramp's closing in 1927.

The book's history of early steam navigation and iron shipbuilding proves more prob-

lematic than its examination of shipbuilding during the transition from iron to steel. Heinrich makes statements unsupported by facts, such as "the USS *Mississippi*, [was] the nation's first steamer" (page 19), and "Harlan & Hollingsworth built its first iron ships in 1844 but stuck to paddle-wheel propulsion" (page 25). Heinrich contends that "during the Civil War naval contracting introduced metal technology to the shipbuilding industry" (page 219), but Alexander Crosby Brown's "Notes on the Origins of Iron Shipbuilding in the United States, 1825-1861" (College of William and Mary, 1951) indicates that domestic yards had manufactured approximately 250 iron vessels by the beginning of the Civil War. By the beginning of the war, the industry had matured considerably and included such prominent firms as Harlan and Hollingsworth; Pusey & Hones; Neafie & Levy; and Reaney, Son & Archibald.

The important role played by political favoritism in government contracting deserves greater attention than it receives in this work. After driving Republican naval contractor John Roach to insolvency, Democratic Navy Secretary William Whitney awarded Cramp the lion's share of warship contracts under lenient acceptance standards. Secretary Whitney also graced Cramp with technical information on the latest British warship designs and extensive shipbuilding contracts for his family's Metropolitan Steamship Company. Finally, it remains questionable whether ships have ever been "mass produced," as Heinrich asserts, for the standardized shipbuilding programs of World War I (pages 161, 166, 169, 189). Henry Ford's *Eagle Boat* program, carried out at his River Rouge plant's assembly line, came closest to the mark.

These issues detract little from the book's focus on industrial capitalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *Ships for the Seven Seas* represents one of the more valuable scholarly studies of American shipbuilding since John G. B. Hutchins' *American Maritime Industries and Public Policy* (1940) and improves greatly on the first major work on Delaware River shipbuilding, David B. Tyler's *American Clyde* (1958). The book is a credit to its author, the Johns Hopkins University Press,

and the able editing of historian Philip Scranton. *Ships for the Seven Seas* will reward any reader wishing to learn more about America's shipbuilding heritage.

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JON TETSURO SUMIDA, *Inventing Grand Strategy and Teaching Command: The Classic Works of Alfred Thayer Mahan Reconsidered*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1997. xix + 164 pages, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95.

Jon Sumida has taken aim at previous biographers of Mahan, from Charles Taylor and William D. Puleston through William Livezey to Philip Crowl and Robert Seager II. Put as simply as possible, they have been guilty of misreading and understanding what Mahan was intending to do all along.

Sumida suggests that Mahan was writing, on one hand, of what could be called naval grand strategy, and on the other hand provided useful instruction for service professionals in the art and science of naval command. Naval grand strategy contains three major components: political (sea power had played a decisive role in the history of relations between states and would continue to do so); political-economic (national prosperity is dependent upon external trade, which in turn required naval protection); and governmental (decision making by the state and its principal agents in peace and war could prove decisive). In Mahan's writings, the art and science of command has a strategic as well as a professional component. In the former case, history has demonstrated the existence of strategic and logistical principles that possess a certain instructional value. In the latter case, naval officers in wartime needed to be able to make decisions quickly in the face of considerable uncertainty; once again, history could provide useful illustrations of what to do or not to do.

The core of the analysis is drawn from

Mahan's three "sea power" books and his life of Nelson, but attention is also given to *The Gulf and Island Waters* and *Admiral Farragut*. Sumida also suggests that Dennis Hart Mahan had considerable influence on his son, that Jomini's influence on Mahan, although important, was limited, and — most significantly — that the Mahans (father and son) resembled Clausewitz more than Jomini in their writings.

Sumida spends relatively little time analyzing Mahan's "lesser works," nor has he in any sense written a biography. There is also some difficulty in proving a significant degree of early linkage with Clausewitz, but it is at least plausible. Perhaps Mahan arrived at his views independently. The value of Sumida's work lies in its being both revisionist and (if correct) rescuing Mahan's works and ideas from increasing obsolescence. However, it would be premature to discard *Letters and Papers* and Seager's biography from your shelves just yet.

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JOHN ROBERTS, *Battlecruisers*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press. London: Chatham Publishing. 128 pages, illustrations, plans of HMS Queen Mary, bibliography, index. ISBN 1-55750-068-1. \$49.95.

On 5 June 1916, Sir John Jellicoe, C-in-C of the British Grand Fleet, wrote to Sir Henry Jackson, the First Sea Lord, "The heavy casualties amongst the Battlecruisers is I fear largely due to inadequate protection. Of course the German BC's are Battleships in protection. Ours are *armoured cruisers*. That is the whole story and the Public ought to know it" (*Papers of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Jackson*, Admiralty Library, Portsmouth). Just five days before, three of the British battlecruisers had blown up and sunk, with huge loss of life, at the Battle of Jutland.

Jellicoe's despairing comment neatly sums up the problem of these beautiful but ill-fated

ships — a problem that is comprehensively explored by John Roberts in this well-presented book. For what emerges clearly from the early chapters, in which Roberts traces the origins of the battlecruisers and the evolution of their design, is that no one — least of all Fisher — really knew what these extraordinary hybrids were for. With hindsight, we can see that they were in fact an evolutionary dead end. Quickly outclassed by the German response, they were soon rendered obsolete by the fast *Queen Elizabeth* battleships. They were extremely effective against old fashioned armored cruisers, as the battle of the Falkland Islands demonstrated, but they did not offer any apparent advantage when operating with the Grand Fleet. Roberts concludes that “...it is difficult to see what has been gained in escalating the armoured cruiser into a more expensive big-gun type” (page 119). This is, of course, exactly what the critics of battlecruisers said at the time of their inception, but, as so often, Fisher’s steamrolling stubbornness in pursuit of his own pet schemes prevailed over even the most reasoned opposition.

This said, Roberts also argues that the widely held idea that the battlecruisers were a failure as a design is wrong. Given the brief — to create a fast platform capable of carrying the heaviest caliber guns — they were, he believes, both effective and successful. At Jutland, “it was not so much the ships that were at fault as their ammunition and the security of its supply to the gunhouse” (page 120). He sets forth his case persuasively in a progression of carefully focused chapters: on Origins, Design and Construction, Machinery, Armament and Armor, finishing with a most useful summing up. Each section is supported by illustrations, plans, and factual tables, thus building up a clear and detailed picture of each vessel. In short, *Battlecruisers* is a buff’s dream.

Which is also its main limitation. This book is relentlessly technical. One searches in vain for any relieving sociological material, for any sense at all of the men who actually made these great ships work. What were the battlecruisers like to live in? “Habitability” receives just one mention — and, even then, in the context of armor. How did the concept of the battlecruiser

fleet as an elite force emerge, and did this perception have any influence on the continued development of the type? There is a wealth of oral and written testimony available — but none of it appears in this book. The obsession with technology is shown strikingly in the caption to the illustration on page 98, where Roberts draws our eye away from the “make and mend” scene occupying the whole of the foreground and invites us, instead, to concentrate on a slightly out of focus 3-inch AA gun in the background.

There are a few lapses — the glib description of Beatty as “the archetypal naval hero” (whatever that means); a reference to the Navy’s “conservatively approaching momentous changes in naval technology” (just when one thought that particular myth had been laid to rest for once and for all) — but in the main, it is a carefully researched work of scholarship.

It is also generously illustrated. The photographs from Roberts’ own collection are almost always interesting, and the plans for HMS *Queen Mary*, drawn by Roberts himself, are high quality. But the photographs from the Imperial War Museum and National Maritime Museum look suspiciously like a roundup of “the usual suspects.” Both these rich collections are now well documented, and, in these days of easy electronic access, authors and publishers no longer have any excuse for trotting out the same tired old images.

Nonetheless, *Battlecruisers* is an accessible and authoritative account of an ever-fascinating subject and is warmly recommended.

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JOHN POMEROY CONDON, *Corsairs and Flattops: Marine Carrier Air Warfare, 1944–1945*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. ix + 138 pages, photos, maps, appendices, index. ISBN 1-55750-127-0. \$27.95.

Few people today know of the exploits of Marine aviators aboard the fast carriers in World War II. Even fewer know that the Marines were also assigned an escort carrier division for their use in close support of their brother Marines on the ground. Robert Sherrod has described their accomplishments in his classic book, *History of the Marine Corps Aviation in World War II*, and Samuel Eliot Morison has also covered the carrier Marines in his *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II* volumes. Now, General Condon attempts to tell the story of the carrier Marines in this slim volume. Unfortunately, he is only partially successful.

Condon's narrative is straightforward: an introductory chapter discussing the mission of Marine aviation and carrier operations and the aircraft they flew; a description of the *Bennington*, *Bunker Hill*, and *Wasp* and their activities at Iwo Jima, Okinawa, and Japan; and an account of the establishment of an escort carrier program devoted solely to the Marines. A trio of appendices close the volume.

An aviator himself, the late General Condon was well placed to describe the activities of the flattop Marines. He served in the Air Command Solomons (AirSols) staff in 1943, then was executive officer of the Marine Air Support Group (MASG) 48, the organization established to oversee the first Marine Carrier Air Groups (MCVGs) being formed. However, despite his obvious affinity and regard for his subject, the result is surprisingly weak.

The addition of Marines to the fast carrier air groups was in response to the kamikaze threat. More fighters, which could double as bombers, were needed, but there were not enough Navy pilots available for the task. Until there were, the Marines would hold the line. General Condon has mined the official records of the units involved and has contacted a number of participants. His description of the com-

bat actions of the marines aboard the carriers is adequate, although rather spare.

The Japanese were not the only foes the Marines had to combat. Lack of carrier experience — at the time, only one Marine pilot in fifty had any carrier training (page 6) — coupled with inadequate navigation and instrument flying training, contributed to an inordinate number of operational losses initially. (It should be noted that this was not just a Marine problem; the AAF also suffered many losses caused by navigational and instrument flying deficiencies.)

What is missing in this book, however, is a look at the Marines carrier experience from the inside. Condon was well placed to do this, as were many of those he interviewed, but there is little discussion of such important topics as Admiral Durgin's aversion to using the Marines in close support at Okinawa. To be sure, official documentation on this matter is hard to find, but many Marines were there and could not provide any perspectives on Durgin's actions. Another subject is why it took so long to get Marines back on the flattops. A more detailed look at the escort carrier program would be of value. These are important topics, but they are discussed only briefly. That is the main problem with the book.

Because of this, although it is an entertaining book, it is not very satisfying. The Marine aviators performed superbly in a difficult situation, but there is more to their story than just their combat actions. As with most Naval Institute Press publications, *Corsairs and Flattops* is well produced. Its rather steep price for a small volume, however, makes one hesitate about purchasing it. As it is, it is an interesting book on an interesting subject, but not one that is a "must" addition for any World War II library.

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LAWRENCE SONDHAUS, *Preparing for Welt-politik: German Sea Power before the Tirpitz Era* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997). 336 pages, illustrations, bibliography, appendix, index. Hardcover. ISBN 1-55750-745-7. \$39.95.

The past two decades have been boom times for post-Napoleonic naval historiography. A number of commendable book-length works have been devoted to various aspects of the revolution in naval architecture which stretched across most of the nineteenth century, among them Stanley Sandler's *The Emergence of the Modern Capital Ship* (1979), Andrew Lambert's *The Last Sailing Battlefleet* (1991) and *Battleships in Transition* (1984), Basil Greenhill and Ann Giffard's *Steam, Politics, and Patronage* (1994), and Jon Sumida's *In Defence of Naval Supremacy* (1989). Similarly, several noteworthy developments on the European naval scene have received new or renewed scholarly attention, most notably the naval race of the 1840s, 50s, and 60s between Britain and France in C. I. Hamilton's *Anglo-French Naval Rivalry* (1993), and the emergence of German sea power in Holger Herwig's *"Luxury" Fleet: The Imperial German Navy, 1888-1918* (1980) and Ivo Lambi's *The Navy and German Power Politics, 1862-1914* (1984). Last, but by no means least, scrutiny has been directed toward hitherto neglected navies, in particular that of Austria-Hungary, on which Professor Sondhaus has published two exemplary volumes (*The Habsburg Empire and the Sea: Austrian Naval Policy, 1797-1866* [1989] and *The Naval Policy of Austria-Hungary, 1867-1918: Navalism, Industrial Development and the Politics of Dualism* [1994]). The present work focuses on the pre-Tirpitz German navy with similarly praiseworthy results.

At the core of Sondhaus's argument is the contention that German naval ambitions date back well before the rise of Tirpitz. Indeed, he demonstrates that the traditional view that "little of importance happened before [Tirpitz] came to power" was deliberately fostered by Tirpitz himself (page ix). What emerges here is a very different picture. Sondhaus deploys

evidence of popular — if intermittent — German navalist sentiment stretching back to the Revolutions of 1848, traces the material development of German naval forces both before and after Bismarck's wars of unification, and surveys the individual contributions of the navy's leaders before Tirpitz, especially Prinz Adalbert of Prussia, Abrecht von Stosch, and Leo von Caprivi. "The threads that Tirpitz wove together — political and industrial, ideological and emotional," he persuasively concludes, "were already present in Germany, some only for a short time, others since before 1848..." (page 229). Likewise, Sondhaus stresses that under Stosch's leadership, Germany amassed the world's third-largest armored fleet, a decade and a half before the first of Tirpitz's Navy Laws was passed.

Sondhaus makes clear, however, that the rise of the German navy was not a story of steady progress. Indeed, it was beset with numerous obstacles, chief among them the army's predominance (which had major consequences both for the navy's material growth and its operational plans), an administrative structure of byzantine complexity and illogic which, when reorganized by Wilhelm II in 1889, "gave the navy hierarchy three competing agencies [the *Oberkommando*, the *Reichsmarineamt*, and the *Marinekabinett*] each with a leader enjoying direct access to the emperor..." (181-182), and numerous operational mishaps, most famously the loss of the ironclad *Grosser Kurfürst*, sunk in collision with one of its squadron mates in 1878.

There is much else to recommend in this volume. Sondhaus clearly establishes the politico-economic context within which German naval policy evolved, paying particular attention to the crucial question of funding and to the rivalries which permeated both the officer corps and the larger political world. He furthermore provides a detailed operational history of the pre-Tirpitz navy, charting its emergence as a diplomatic tool, both in Europe and in the colonial world. And he critically assesses the service's strategic and ship design policies. This last avenue is especially valuable for the light it sheds on the rationale for build-

ing several coast defense battleships — the products of the navy's subordination to army strategic policy — and for its coverage of the confusion wrought by the emergence of the *Jeune Ecole* in the mid 1880s.

In sum, *Preparing for Weltpolitik* fills a notable gap in the literature admirably. The attention paid to the navy's peacetime operational history, to the point of narrating the events of annual training cruises, occasionally descends to the realm of minutiae, but this is the only caveat I have with an otherwise fine volume. Although both Herwig and Lambi survey the pre-1888 era, both do so without emphasizing the large degree of continuity between pre- and post-1898 eras. Sondhaus'

detailed research thus provides a useful corrective to the "Tirpitz-centric" tendencies of earlier accounts. It also makes clear Tirpitz's boundless ambition and opportunism, Sondhaus at one point remarking that the common argument that "the domestic, anti-socialist, anti-parliamentary goals of Wilhelm's *Weltpolitik* were Tirpitz's own goals... fails to take into account the admiral's opportunism and attributes to him a depth of ideological conviction that simply did not exist, at least not in the mid-1890s" (page 230).

JOHN BEELER

The University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

SHORTER NOTICES

ROBERT GARDINER, ED., *Nelson Against Napoleon: From the Nile to Copenhagen, 1798–1801*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, in association with the National Maritime Museum, 1997. 192 pages, index, bibliography, illustrations. ISBN 1-5575-0642-6. \$49.95.

Another in the oversize (10" x 12") heavily illustrated (black and white only) "Chatham Pictorial Series," this volume covers a short but interesting part of the Napoleonic wars, with the text and captions done mainly by Roger Morriss, David Lyon, and above all by Robert Gardiner. Roughly half the book deals with the war in the Mediterranean, the rest with Ireland, the Channel, and colonial and commercial warfare, concluding with a fairly short section on the battle of Copenhagen. Although the text is certainly authoritative, many readers will find the main value to lie in the extensive reproduction of contemporary illustrations, plans, and maps; a useful appendix provides details on

artists, printmakers, and their techniques.

IAN MARSHALL AND JOHN MAXTONE-GRAHAM, *Passage East*. Charlottesville, Va.: Howell Press, 1997. 159 pages, index, illustrations. ISBN 1-5742-7069-9. \$60.00.

Noted maritime artist Ian Marshall, in a series of fifty-two evocative watercolor paintings (all nicely reproduced in color) in this volume chronicles the nineteenth century passage to India and beyond, from 1837, when scheduled service began from Bombay to Suez. The paintings include ships and harbors ("RMS *Sutlej*, the Landing Stage at Ismalia, 1883") as well as more land bound scenes ("The Grand Hotel, Calcutta, 1893"), all intermixed with a text by both Marshall and Maxtone-Graham as well as nearly three dozen contemporary photographs of vessels and shipboard life. It was not all so long ago: the last painting is "SS *Chusan*,

Bombay, 1970" — alas, the last scheduled passenger liner to sail from Ballard Pier in Bombay. The work offers no new historical interpretation or thesis; rather, it is a delightful exercise in visual historical memory, one to be savored over time.

HORST MENZEL, *Smakken, Kuffen, Galioten: Drei fast vergessene Schiffstypen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*. Hamburg: Ernst Kabel Verlag, 1997; publications of the Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum, 47. 144 pages, illustrations, bibliography, index. ISBN 3-8225-0413-0. No price indicated.

Flat-bottomed and round-ended, the smallish ships known as Smacks, Kuffs (or Koffs), and Galiotes originated, according to Horst Menzel, along the Dutch coast as handy workboats for trade or fishing. Usually two-masted with topsails and a gaff mainsail aided by a small gaff mizzen (some galiotes were larger, with three masts), they sacrificed speed for maneuverability in the notoriously difficult waters of the North Sea and Baltic, enjoying their greatest popularity in the early nineteenth century. Menzel has amassed a fine collection of contemporary prints, plans, and models, some handsomely reproduced in color, to enhance a comparative study of the three types in their several varieties, adding a separate chapter on the development of masts in these vessel types. Altogether, this is an impressive scholarly addition to the fine series produced by the Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum in Bremerhaven, which will be of interest to modelers as well as

sailing craft scholars. Text is in German throughout. Contact Ernst Kabel Verlag, Völkerstraße 14-20, 22765 Hamburg, Germany.

PATRICE POMEY, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, *La Navigation dans l'Antiquité*. Aix-en-Provence, France: Éditions Edisud, 1997. 206 pages, illustrations, index, bibliography. ISBN 2-85744-799-X. FRS 280.

A beautifully illustrated, oversize (9" x 12½") production from the "Centre Camille Jullian" for Mediterranean and African archaeology at the Université de Provence, this volume offers the latest discoveries and conclusions relating to maritime archaeology in the Mediterranean world. Separate sections by Patrice Pomey, Piero Gianfrotta (Italy), Xavier Nieto (Spain), and André Tchernia (France), treat navigation, ships and men, commerce, and selected archaeological sites and their contents. A considerable share of the many illustrations are of either recovered artifacts or the underwater process of recovery (fortunately, the publishers manage to reproduce quite well both deep greens and blues). A useful, authoritative text in French complements the artwork, but the illustrations are the heart of the work. Éditions Edisud can be contacted at La Calade, RN 7, 13090 Aix-en-Provence, France.

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ON THE COVER

USS *Maine*, c. 1895
Alexander Charles Stuart (1831–1898)
Oil on canvas
30 x 50 inches

Born in Glasgow, Alexander Stuart served both in the Royal Navy, and following his immigration to America, in the Union Navy. As a marine artist he favored steam and naval subjects. He worked for several years for the shipbuilding firm of Harlan and Hollingsworth, painting portraits of the ships they constructed.

On 15 February 1898, the battleship USS *Maine* exploded and sank in Havana harbor. The origin of the explosion was suspected to have been a submerged mine. The incident led President McKinley to ask Congress for the authority to intervene in Cuba, and war was declared on Spain on 25 April 1898. Recent research has suggested that the explosion was possibly caused by a smoldering fire in a coal bunker that ignited a nearby magazine.

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ON THE COVER

William H. Myers
Watercolor

The Master-at-arms flogs a sailor who is secured hands and feet. The drummer sounds rolls as "cat" lashes descend. Captain, first lieutenant, and doctor head the officers and crewmen required to witness the punishment. Gunner William H. Myers painted this watercolor, an early view of punishment and US Navy uniforms on the sloop-of-war *Cyane* off California in 1842-1843.

Courtesy of The Bancroft Library

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ON THE COVER

Chinese Junk, 1868–1872
John Thomson
Albumen Print

Many hazards can impede the maritime photographer. This instance involved an unwilling crew. When Thomson climbed aboard the junk to take this photograph, "they forsook their work, confronted us with angry gestures and threatened to bar our advance." Eventually, the crew relented and assisted with the photograph.

The album containing this photograph was originally owned by Henry Upham Jeffries, a partner in Russell, Sturgis and Company. It appears in *Capturing Poseidon: Photographic Encounters with the Sea*, an exhibit on view at the Peabody Essex Museum through April 11, 1999.

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ON THE COVER

The Empress of China
Philip Chadwick Foster Smith
Watercolor

The lovely watercolor, *The Empress of China*, also graced the cover of Philip Chadwick Foster Smith's award winning book of the same name.

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